

THE
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'No man, who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those, who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect, they were not utterly to be cast away.'—MILTON.

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THE

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- ART. I.—1. *Selections from the Records of Government Papers relating to the Reforms of the Police of India*, 1861.
2. *Act No. 5, of 1861*. Passed by the Legislative Council of India.
3. *Report upon British Burmah*. By R. Temple, Esq., and Lieut.-Col. H. Bruce, 1860.

THAT the question of Police Reform has of late engaged so largely the attention and occupied to such an extent the thoughts of our legislators, is not to be wondered at, when we consider the great importance of the subject, and the vast influence that a right solution of the question must exercise, not only upon the present, but also on the future condition of our Indian Empire. One of the great results of the storm which recently swept over India, and of the transfer of the reins of Government from the 'Company' to the Crown, has been the recognition, to a certain extent, of the power of public opinion, and the gradually strengthening belief, that the voice of the people has a right to be heard, and that those who pay taxes should have a share, however small, in giving laws to the empire. With what contempt such an idea would have been received only a few years back, by the Civilian governing class in India, we need not pause to point out. Certain it is, that the men, who in former days were contemptuously looked down upon as 'interlopers,' and who were only tolerated in the company's territories as long as they were not disagreeably troublesome, are now

beginning to feel their strength and to make themselves heard. And in proportion as their right to do so is conceded, and their position is recognised, will India become attractive to European Settlers, and will draw to her ample bosom a band of colonists who, in their efforts to enrich themselves, will confer a tenfold benefit upon the land of their adoption. Already from the homes of civilization, and the great marts of commerce in the far West the restless Anglo-Saxon is looking out across the Eastern seas to the plain of Hindostan, for a field wherein to expend his inexhaustible energy and his unemployed capital. But if we are willing that he should not look in vain, if we desire to allure to our shores men with wealth to invest and enterprise to direct its investment, as well as some of their poorer, though equally hard-working brethren, we must take care that the country to which we invite them, is one where their lives will be safe from attack, and their property from plunder, where, away from the centres of civilization, on the slopes of the distant hills, or on the plains and in the jungles of the rural districts, to which doubtless many would direct their steps, they can live secure from the alarm of robbers and the murmur of rebellion, to give their undivided attention to the development of the resources, and improvement of the cultivation of their estates. Such a state of tranquillity can only be secured by good laws, given by a wise Government, and enforced and upheld by a well organized and trustworthy machinery. That a good police forms a most important part of such a machinery no one will deny, and thus we arrive again at the point from which we started, that the subject of Police Reform is of the highest importance to the future of this magnificent empire. We propose in the following pages to give a very brief history of the steps which have led to the present prominence of this question before Government, of the progress that has been made and is making, and the results that have already been achieved.

The reform of our police administration had long been before successive Governments of India. All united in condemning the existing systems, but for a long period no serious effort appears to have been made to improve them. At last however Sir Charles Napier, after his conquest of Scinde, boldly set aside the forebodings of those, who, clinging to ancient traditions, prophesied the failure of any deviation from the time-honoured grooves of past ages and applying to the newly acquired province the principles of police he had learned and tested in England, he gave to Scinde the first good police we ever had in India. The success which has attended its working, and

the fact that to the present day it remains in all material principles of composition, organization and action, the same as when it came from the hand of the great Scinde Administrator, proves how well he was justified in his determination and how entirely he appreciated the wants and requirements of the people he governed.

The next reform was made in Bombay. In 1848 we find the Honorable Mr., afterwards Sir George, Clerk recording his opinion that 'the police throughout the presidency is on a footing, in several respects, most unsatisfactory'. This, to say the least of it, is a very mild exposition of the extremely useless and inefficient state of the Bombay police as then existing, but a reference to his minute on the subject, and a consideration of the facts he adduces in support of his views, will show the reader that nothing could possibly have been worse, that in 10 Zillahs upwards of 7000 cases of gang and highway robbery, burglary, and cattle-stealing occurred in one year, thirty of which were attended with murder, and that the influence of the police either in the prevention or detection of crime was next to nothing.

The remedy he proposed, and which, after some time, was sanctioned by the Court of Directors, and adopted, was to follow to a certain extent the great principle of the separation of police from magisterial functions, which Sir C. Napier had first initiated in Scinde, and to place the police of each Zillah under a separate officer, who was to be subordinate to the magistrate, and under him to devote his whole attention to its control and working. Subsequently, we think in 1855, a Commissioner of Police at the seat of Government was authorised, who exercised control not only over the police officers above referred to, but also over the magistrates themselves, in all matters relating to police administration and action.

Soon after these changes had been carried out in Bombay, an inquiry, the fame of which has spread over Europe, was set on foot in Madras, and in 1855, the report of the celebrated 'Torture Commission' reduced to a certainty the long entertained fears and suspicions of all thinking Europeans in India, while it filled with dismay the hearts of those mild philanthropists at home, who believed we were faithfully fulfilling our mission amongst the heathen, and putting forth by the beneficence of our rule in the east, the best possible advertisement of the benefits of civilization and the blessings of Christianity. One of the witnesses examined before this Commission gives it as his carefully formed opinion of the Mofussil police, that 'it has become the bane and the pest of society, the

'terror of the community, and the origin of half the misery and discontent that exists among the subjects of Government. Corruption and bribery reign paramount throughout the whole establishment violence, torture and cruelty are their chief instruments for detecting crime, implicating innocence, or extorting money'—And this opinion the Commission deliberately adopted and put forth, as the enunciation of their own sentiments After this terrible description we are not surprised to learn, that in the Madras presidency there occurred in 1854, no fewer than 1724 gang robberies, of which 481 were attended with aggravating circumstances

To Lord Harris was due the credit of exposing the horrors of this monstrous evil, and to him also belongs the merit of an immediate and successful remedy He lost no time in proposing a thorough and radical change of the whole police system of the presidency, persevered in carrying out the change in spite of the opposition of conflicting opinions, and the obstacles and delays which were the inevitable accompaniments of the Mutiny, and saw the complete triumph of his ideas, and the entire adoption of his plan, in the Act, XXIV of 1859, which contained the police bill for the territories subject to the Governor of Fort St George The success which has already attended the introduction of this new police, and many interesting details of its system, and of the favourable reception it has met with at the hands of the rural population, were very recently related in an article in this Review

We have seen the wave of Police Reform, taking its rise in Scinde and following the coast line, spread over the Bombay presidency Passing round Cape Comorin it fertilised the plains and table lands of Southern India and the Deccan and rolled onwards till it reached the mouth of the Ganges But here its progress was stayed In Bengal much had been thought, much had been spoken and much written, but nothing had been done The police of the Bengal presidency were acknowledged on all hands to be the worst in India They are described in a paper read by Lieut Col Kennedy in March 1859, at the United Service Institution in London, as freebooters, whose only vocation was to plunder the people they were supposed to protect Lieut Governor after Lieut Governor had condemned them as utterly destitute of morality and wanting in efficiency, one Lieut. Governor writes, 'throughout the length and the breadth of the land, the strong prey almost universally on the weak, and power is but too commonly valued only as it can be turned into money,' One would have supposed that the evil being felt to be so enormous, and the advantages to be derived from its

suppression so obvious, more earnest endeavours would have been made to introduce a happier state of things. It was not only a moral but a financial evil. Sir C Trevelyan gives expression to his opinion thus 'If real protection of life and property were established there,' (in Bengal) 'by the formation of an efficient police, and the people were ruled quietly and prudently, with all our power, the magnificent valley of the Ganges alone would yield more than the present revenue of the whole of British India.' Nor was the police of the North West Provinces much, if at all better. The disease was felt to be universal as to locality and mortal in its effects. Yet no one was found bold enough to come forward and apply the only remedy that could prove efficacious, the eradication of the whole system and its agents, and the introduction of a new and healthful organization.

Something more powerful, than the reports of amelioration in Bombay, and the echo of the cries for reform in Madras, was required, ere the people of Bengal and the N. W. P. should be delivered from the intolerably oppressive police, under whom they groaned. That something came at last in the grand crash of the mutiny, and as the tempest spread, and district after district in upper India was submerged in the irresistible flood, the regular police melted away like snow drifts before the southern breeze, and was either seen no more, or reappeared amongst the ranks of the mutineers to urge on their fury and incite it to acts of unparalleled atrocity. In the day of trial their cowardice, their corruption and their treachery were found to be equal, and the men who had been specially appointed as the conservators of law and order, were the first to join the cry for universal anarchy, and to add their forces to the multitude that endeavoured to subvert both.

The storm swept past, the atmosphere began to clear, district after district, emerging from chaos, again acknowledged the Anglo-Saxon ruler, and returned to the easy servitude of a well organized and well administered government, and again in upper India the old police, if not in the same persons, at least in the same system and retaining the same effete character, was restored to its old haunts. But together with it, forming a duplicate police administration, and devouring incredible sums of the sadly diminished finances, was found, both in the N. W. P. and in Bengal, another power which the exigencies of the times had called into being, and which, as it had been a means of protection during the times of trouble, threatened now in the times of peace, to be the cause of utter ruin to the country. This power was the military police.

While the storm lasted every nerve was strained, as might have been expected, to arrest its fury. To the Englishman it was a matter of life and death. Men fighting for their lives are not likely to question the policy of the means taken to preserve them, nor to scrutinize at the time their costliness. Money was plentiful and supervision over its expenditure had ceased to be exercised. Half the officials in India urged on by every variety of motive, private, personal, political, or public, conceived that their chief, if not only mission on earth, was to organize a regiment of Irregulars, or raise a body of horse, and the result was what we have seen.

Hordes of military police and local levies, whose name was Legion, and whose aggregate numerical strength has, probably, never been accurately known to any one, had grown up in every district, pervaded every town and patrolled every high way, and bid fair, if allowed to remain undisturbed, to become as great a source of anxiety in the future, as the pietonian sepoys had proved in the past, while, for the time being they consumed the revenue of country, and contributed no inconsiderable impetus to the forces which were hurrying the coach of state along the hard and easy road leading to insolvency. Such was the state of police affairs in Bengal and the N W P, when the late lamented Mr Wilson arrived in India, and, as we shall shortly see, that great financier was not slow to discover the root of the evil, and to apply himself to provide a sure, and, we believe, a successful remedy.

But before proceeding to consider what this remedy was, we must ask our readers to turn aside with us for a short time, and see what was being enacted in another Province. Lucknow was no sooner taken from the rebels in March 1858, than the Chief Commissioner of Oudh directed that immediate steps should be taken for the formation of an armed police. The promptitude of this action, and the extraordinary manner in which the officer to whom the task was entrusted, carried out his orders, soon bore their legitimate fruit. Regiment after regiment was formed, organized, drilled, clothed, armed and prepared for service, and by the month of October, 1858, the ranks of the Oudh police numbered 13,000 men, who on many occasions in the field proved the excellence of their rapid organization and training.

The country was then being slowly wrested, step by step, from the rebels. And as the purely military forces of the Commander-in-Chief advanced, their places were taken up by detachments of the military police, who thus prevented the return of the insurgents, and enabled the civil officers to restore the civil administration. The thanahs were re-peopled with the old thanahdars.

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and burkundazes, who emerged from their hiding-places, deserted from the rebel ranks, as they saw the hopes of successful resistance disappearing, and the prospect of re-employment under the Government brightening in the horizon. In a short time the same incubus that oppressed the N W P, the double police, would have settled down upon Oudh, and added another outlet to the drain on her already exhausted finances. Sir R. Montgomery, however, with his usual prompt decision, came to the rescue, and in December 1858, before the last band of rebels was driven in confusion over the Raptée, had issued his orders that henceforth there should be but *one* police in Oudh, a police which, while it conducted the ordinary police duties of prevention and detection of crime, would, at the same time, be strong enough to protect the peaceably disposed inhabitants, and would put down with a vigorous aim all attempts at outrage and plunder.

The *thahadars* and their satellites were quietly discharged, and the newly organized police, assuming their civil functions became from henceforth the only police of the Province. In the Police Report of Oudh for the year 1859, in allusion to this transition we find the following sentence 'A hypothetical case of 20 Regiments of British Infantry turned over for civil employ for a police in Ireland, will hardly give an adequate idea of the task which devolved upon the officers of the Oudh Police' Had the writer said 'French Infantry' instead of 'British' we believe he would have been still nearer the mark, for the regiments of military police to which the civil duties were now made over, consisted in some districts, almost entirely of Sikhs, and Punjabees, unacquainted with the language and indifferent to the manners and habits of the people. Some of us will remember the opposition which this scheme met with, and have not forgotten how speedy and hopeless failure amidst 'shouts of derisive laughter' was confidently prophesied as its inevitable fate. No one will now venture to deny the wisdom which planned and the bold decision which gave execution to the measure. The Oudh police has been a great success. It is notorious that there is not in the whole of our Indian Empire, a Province where the law is more respected, and where the crimes which were formerly so rife have been so speedily and so effectually repressed. Dacoity, previously the bane of the province, is almost unknown, and, if we except those mysterious, supposed murders in one particular district, which have hitherto baffled not only the vigilance of the still unpractised police, but the skill of the vaunted Thuggee Department, heinous crimes of every description are of rare

occurrence. And not only has this security to life and property been afforded by the new police, organized and officered, be it observed, upon a system previously untried in upper India, but the mass of the people have found an inexpressible relief in their deliverance from the oppression and corruption of the old inefficient thanadars. No better proof in support of this assertion can be adduced than the following quotation from the speech of the Oudh Talookdars recently delivered in open Durbar to the Viceroy of India at Calcutta. 'The new arrangements which have been made in the Police Department, through Colonel Bruce and other officers, have not only protected the life and property of the people from the hands of thieves and robbers, but also put an instant stop to bribery.' It is quite unnecessary to offer any comments upon the conclusiveness of such a testimony, coming as it does from the men who, of all others, are most competent to form a correct opinion upon the subject. We will not here enter upon any exposition of the system which led to these satisfactory results, as it differs but little from that which is now being introduced all over India, and upon which we shall immediately offer a few observations, but we would remark in passing, that it is our firm belief that very much of the success of the Oudh Police is attributable to the unwearied efforts of the European officers, to the real, indomitable English pluck with which they combatted all opposition, and returned undaunted to their work after every reverse.

We go back now to Mr. Wilson and the Police of the N. W. P. This sagacious statesman very soon after his arrival in India had his attention drawn to the subject. The question of finance was too intimately connected with that of police, to have long escaped his keen observation, and he speedily came to the conclusion, that the maintenance of a double police on a great scale was not only a financial, but a political blunder, and from that hour its doom was sealed. The question was urged upon the Government. Lord Carnarvon always ready to listen to, and encourage any proposal for financial reform gave his ready acquiescence, and the seed thus sown, rapidly germinated in extensive inquiry, and fructified in the assembling of the Police Commission.

It was seen that the time had now arrived, when it was incumbent on the Government of India to give a distinct enunciation of its opinions and principles on the subject of the future police system for India. It was clearly a financial impossibility to maintain permanently a double police in the great Provinces of Bengal, equally clear was it, that to disband, at a stroke, the

military levies which had done such good service during the mutinies, but which were no longer necessary, for preserving the tranquillity of the country, would be to scatter broad-cast over the Presidency, a large body of discontented men, while, at the same time, to preserve the resuscitated thanadars and bukandazes would be to deliver over the people once more to the oppression under which they had laboured in times gone by. Re-established in their former places and re-invested with their traditional influence and power, the old police would have felt that their previous incapacity and proved cowardice and misconduct had been condoned, and they would henceforth have been stronger than ever to overbear the weak, and to connive at, or encourage the guilty. The time therefore was favourable for the introduction of a new system, the old one had been tried in the crucible of rebellion and had dissolved away. Some new scheme of administration could appropriately be introduced, with the satisfactory reflection, that, at all events, whether successful or not, it could not possibly be worse than the one it was to displace.

The members of the Police Commission were carefully selected, and it comprised men of great police experience, and some whose names had become well known throughout India during the recent disturbances. The instructions given to them by the Government were clear and explicit. They were carefully to compare the existing police systems to ascertain the composition, organization and cost of the various police bodies of India, to acquire all the information in their power as to their efficiency and their results, and, finally, to propose for the consideration of Government the broad fundamental principles, which their deliberation would lead them to believe to be essential in all circumstances and localities to the existence of a good police. More than this, the Commission was furnished with a memorandum which will be found at page 240 of the papers relating to the reform of the Police of India 1861, which embodies the views of Government on the characteristics of a good police. In this brief and masterly production, which entirely exhausts the subject upon which it treats, will be found sketched out the attributes and requirements of a police more perfect than India has ever seen—more perfect, perhaps, than we shall ever see, but, nevertheless, not to be regarded as beyond the possibility of attainment.

The Commission met, and after a good deal of inquiry and discussion, submitted a very able report, embodying in the shape of a series of propositions their views on Police, for the approval of Government. This report has long been before the public, and we need not now examine it in detail. One thing

connected with it is remarkable, that notwithstanding the members of the commission had been drawn from all parts of India, and their opinions on many important points were at first known to be various, and in some cases antagonistic, the report after serious deliberation and debate, was unanimously adopted, and thus carried with it the additional weight of being an *united* testimony in favour of the system which it advocated. A brief sketch of the general principles laid down in these propositions will not be out of place here, and it is to be observed that these principles have been adopted by the Government as a correct exposition of its views, that they are embodied in its Police Bill published in Act V of 1861, which finally passed the legislative council in March last, and are henceforth to be accepted as the fundamental doctrines of future police administration in India.

The Police Commission drew two broad lines of demarcation which had never been previously observed in India. The first was between the police and the military. For many years the latter have been in the habit of performing a great variety of purely civil duties. The protection of civil jails and treasuries, the escort of treasure, the watch and ward over commissariat and other stores, the supply of innumerable small detachments at great distances from regimental Head Quarters, for the over-awing of gangs of robbers and dacoits, these and many other duties which are strictly within the province of a good police have hitherto been in India performed by the Native Army. Commanders-in-Chief and Commandants of regiments have for years remonstrated against this illegitimate employment of their forces. The men thus taken from Head Quarters, and stationed at remote posts, away from the control and supervision of their officers, contracted lax habits subversive of all military discipline, while the strength of the Corps at Head Quarters became so much weakened as materially interfered with its efficiency, in the event of its being suddenly called upon to take the field. Again since the rise of the military police during the mutinies, many duties have been performed by them, which belong purely to the military under the Commander-in-Chief.

The Police Commission, recognizing the anomaly of this practice, lay it down as an axiom that henceforth there should be two and *only* 'two departments charged with protective and repressive duties and responsibilities'—the one the military under the Commander-in-Chief—the other the Civil Constabulary under the Civil Executive Government, that the military should at once be withdrawn from the performance of all the duties above

enumerated, which they had been in the habit of performing and should be confined in future to their proper spheres. In short, that all the Army should be concentrated in such positions as the military occupation of the country may render advisable, and that the only detachments should be in those positions whose military occupation is necessary from strategical considerations, — that the whole duty of protection of life and property and repression of crime should be confided to an organized and partially armed civil constabulary, and that only in the case of rebellions or extended insurrection from within, or foreign invasions from without, should their functions be superseded by the regular Army.

The advantages to be gained by this measure are twofold. In the first place the efficiency of the Native Army will be greatly increased. The majority of the men of every regiment being always at Head Quarters, they will acquire a much greater proficiency in all that belongs to military duty, while at the same time they will be relieved from the laborious and uninteresting escort duty which formerly fell so heavily upon the Sepoys, and regarding which we find the Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army writing in 1857, 'one third of the army is permanently on duty from year's end to year's end, and the men are disheartened and disgusted.'

Another no small advantage to be gained by the substitution of constables for military guards and escorts is the great saving that will accrue to Government. It is calculated that every Sepoy costs the state 250 rupees per annum, while the cost of a constable is at the highest rate Rs 130, the average being probably not more than Rs 120. If then the Government is enabled by the replacement of the one by the other, to reduce the strength of its Native Army while at the same time it adds to its efficiency, the gain both political and financial, will be very considerable, nor is this all, the strength of the future European Army in India must, after recent events, depend in some measure on the strength of the Native Army, and, when the latter can be reduced, the former may in a corresponding proportion be weakened also with safety, should other circumstances admit of it.

The second great line of separation drawn by the Police Commission is that between the executive police and the judicial authorities. A great deal has been spoken and written upon this subject. Many contend that there should be no severance at all, but that the police should be wholly and entirely under the magistrates as has hitherto been the case generally.

throughout India. Others again insist that there should be no connection whatever between the two, and that the police through their Chief, should be responsible only to the Head of the local Government. While others again, admitting, in a general way, the necessity of information to the judicial authorities, have been unable to agree upon the exact point where this subordination should begin, some wishing to fix it upon the district Officer or Magistrate, others upon the Commissioner of a Division. We believe that very much of the controversy, which has taken place upon this subject, has arisen from misapprehension of what the upholders of the principle of separation really mean. The great principle involved in the question is simply this, that the thief *catcher* shall not be the thief *killer*, that the Officer who investigates the circumstances of a crime, hunts down and apprehends the criminal, arranges the evidence and prepares the case for trial, shall not then take his seat upon the bench and proceed to try the accused. If this principle is granted, it appears to us to be of very little consequence where the acknowledged link of subordination is to fit in, and we believe that in practice no difficulty will ever be experienced, for practically, the district Officer, as defined in the 31st proposition of the report of the Police Commission, must always be the supreme power in his own district, the police must always be bound to obey his orders, and therefore if any clashing of authority between him and the police Officer were likely to arise, a contingency which we believe would be of very rare occurrence, he would, as the paramount authority on the spot, be able to control the other, and prevent any evil consequences to which his recusancy might give occasion at the time. We believe, that in almost all cases, certainly in all where both judicial and police Officers have the interest of the Government at heart, there will be nothing like rivalry or quarreling about authority. The district Officer from his position, his experience, and his legal knowledge, will, in nine cases out of ten, be looked up to by the police Officer, who will have recourse to him for advice and assistance whenever he is at fault, while on the other hand the judicial Officer will, ere long, come to regard the policeman as his right-hand, in all matters affecting the protection and tranquillity of his districts.

This separation of the police and judicial functions is the grand fundamental principle of the present police reform, and is not calculated to introduce dissension and stir up a spirit of opposition as has been asserted, but on the contrary its tendency is to assist the district Officer, and carry him along with

it, by forming and placing at his disposal a more perfect instrument for the good government of his district than he ever had before. It cannot be denied that an English Officer, whose heart is in his work, and whose whole time and attention are concentrated upon it, will, in the course of a very few years, have formed a district police infinitely superior to any we have ever seen under the old thanadaree system, and it is as undeniable that in most districts where this is the case there will be little interference on the part of the district Officer, whose experience in police work will year by year diminish as that of the other increases, and who will, therefore, be too glad to leave him to work out his cases, and trace his criminals in his own way.

It will be seen from the above remarks, that the supervision and control of the police in future by a separate body of European Officers, is one of the points strongly dwelt upon by the Police Commission as an essential element of success in the new system. Their proposal is briefly as follows that each local Government be for police purposes considered a police district; that a head of the police for such districts or province be appointed who will be subject to the control of the local Government only. That subordinate to him a sufficient number of European officers be appointed, in the proportion of not less than one to each civil district, who will control the police of their respective districts, subject to the general supervision of the magistrate, and be responsible to their chief for all matters of discipline, organization, drill, dress &c, he, in his turn, being responsible to the local Government for maintaining the whole force in a state of efficiency by personal attention and by general management through his subordinate officers. Thus it will appear, that as in each Province there will be but one responsible head of the police, so under the operation of the new scheme there can be but *one* police within the same limit, and all separate establishments of cantonment, coast and river police, salt chokeydars, thuggee and dacoity informers, and police for Railways, must, be gradually absorbed into the one great provincial department. As a matter of course the village police will also come under the police Officer, who will exercise over them the same control which has hitherto been in the hands of the district authority. The advantages of such centralization are too obvious to require comment.

These we believe to be the great fundamental principles advocated by the Police Commission, into the details it is unnecessary here to enter. There is one point, however, which we observe we have omitted, and which, though belonging rather

to military finance than to police reform, is too important to be left out. We allude to the recommendation of the Military Finance Commission, endorsed by the Police Commission and subsequently adopted in its entirety by the Government, that the police should, on the requisition of the military authorities, furnish police guards over military stores, the watch and ward over which can be maintained as efficiently and more economically by them than by the Native Army, and as such duty belongs properly to the military department, and cannot be fairly chargeable upon a civil constabulary, it is further recommended that for all such guards supplied by the police, payment should be made by the department requiring them.

Thus a further reduction of the Native Army becomes possible, the number of men hitherto employed in these duties having been very considerable, while at the same time, by the system of payment above described, the Government has secured the best possible guarantee for economy, as the head of every department requiring a guard from the police, is held responsible for its cost, until he satisfies the Controller of Finance of the absolute necessity for having it. Those who remember how lavishly guards of sepoys were furnished upon every requisition, and for every conceivable purpose, in former days, will appreciate the very great saving likely to accrue from the introduction of the new system.

The Police Commission on submitting their reports, forwarded agreeably to instruction, received a draft act for a new Police Bill to be applicable to the whole of India. Their report is dated in September 1860, and in March 1861 Act V of that year, being 'an Act for the regulation of Police' finally passed the Legislative Council after considerable discussion, and on the 22nd of the same month received the assent of the Governor General. In this act will be found embodied the great principles recommended by the Commission, of which we have given a brief and imperfect outline above.

But soon after receiving the report of the Commission, and some time before the act became law, Government having decided upon its future course with regard to the police of India, action was at once commenced without further delay. A Chief Commissioner of Police for the N W P was appointed, and entered upon his arduous duties. The Government had decided that a double police should no longer exist in any province of the empire, that the military police, as such, should be immediately disbanded and absorbed into the new force, and that

for the future *one* distinct and fully organized civil constabulary only for each local Government should be recognized. The measures requisite upon the above decision have been carried out in the N. W. P. with great energy. All inefficient men of the military ~~part~~ of the old civil police have been discharged, the remainder ~~has~~ been formed into the constabulary, European officers have been appointed in every district, and the whole machinery is now at work, and will in due time, no doubt, bring forth the good results to be looked for from the known ability and energy of the agents employed.

• Hitherto we have said nothing of the Punjab. Soon after the annexation of that important Province, a civil police was organized upon the old thanadaree system, but with this in its favour, that the men composing it were more carefully selected, better paid, and more rigidly supervised by the district officer, than in the other Presidencies of India, and, we believe, it has been found to work well comparatively. In addition to this body, there was also a large force of military police, both horse and foot, whose duties were chiefly, if not altogether military, and whose operation was almost exclusively confined to guarding the extensive frontier. Now, however, this double police has been abolished, and the same system, as that which prevails in Oudh and has been initiated in the N. W. P., has been also inaugurated in the Punjab. It is true there is still a local force kept up under the orders of the local Government and not under the Commander-in-chief, but this we believe is only a temporary arrangement, and, whether or no, it is entirely distinct from the civil police, and is not under the control of the Inspector General.

At Nagpore a similar police is being organized in which the local Infantry of those districts will, we believe, be absorbed.

The great Proconsulate of Bengal alone remains, but there too the note of change has been sounded, and we believe that while we now write, arrangements are progressing for the abolition of the military police and the drafting of the men in its ranks into the new civil constabulary.

We have now briefly recapitulated the measures of police reform which have been already introduced, or are in progress in the different Presidencies and Provinces of Hindostan, it remains further to notice what has been done in the same direction in the large outlying dependency of British Bumah, but as the introduction of a new organized police in that province is but part of a great scheme of financial reform which is now being carried out, it may not be out of place to include the whole in our

observations, though not within the proper compass of this article.

During the autumn of 1860, the President of the Military Finance Commission visited Rangoon, and on his return he addressed a Memorandum to Government, which will be found at the end of the 'Report upon British Burmah' wherein he pointed out, with that clearness and conciseness which characterise all his papers, a number of economical changes which might be made in almost every department of the administration. Soon after this, Colonel Phayre, the Commissioner of Pegu, arrived in Calcutta, and became during his stay a member of the Police Commission. After that body had submitted its report to Government, Lord Canning determined to send two officers to Burmah, to be associated with the chief Civil and Military Authorities of the province, as a special commission for the purpose of considering and reporting upon every measure of economical reform, that might appear practicable and desirable. Accordingly two of the members of the Police Commission who were men of tried ability and experience were selected for this purpose and leaving Calcutta, arrived in Rangoon on the 12th of November. From thence, in company with Colonel Phayre and General Bell the Military Commander, they travelled over a considerable part of the province, and after collecting and digesting all the information they could obtain, left Rangoon for Calcutta on the 4th of December, and on their return submitted to Government the very able and comprehensive report, published in the blue book indicated at the head of this article. We will not enter into details which are accessible to every one who feels an interest in them, and will content ourselves with giving a brief summary of the results. According to this report the annual expenditure of the Province of Pegu including military charges, has hitherto exceeded the revenue by the very considerable sum of fifty-nine and a quarter lacs of rupees. The Commission go very carefully over every item of expenditure in each department, military, civil, police, marine &c. They propose a new police, to be organised upon the same principles, as we have seen applied to the new police forces in India, into which is to be absorbed the Pegu Light Infantry, which in Burmah represented the military police of India.

They recommend reduction in the military expenditure of Pegu to the extent of fifty-seven lacs annually, and suggest a new arrangement and distribution of civil establishments for Pegu, Tenasserim and Arracan by which a further saving of seven lacs annually will be effected. The result of the whole scheme when carried out being that, instead of the large annual deficit which

has hitherto obtained in these provinces, the yearly revenue and expenditure will be very nearly balanced. Many of the reductions recommended have already been effected, others are now being carried into execution, and we believe we are not mistaken in asserting that by the end of the present official year, the whole, or, at all events, those of great financial importance will have been made.

We think deserving of especial notice, the celerity with which in this case of British Burmah, action has followed on design. We attribute this, almost entirely, to the unanimity which has marked the proceedings of the two Commissioners, and their associates the Commissioner, and the Military Commander of the Province. Any one who will take the trouble to read the report will see that, in all the recommendations for economy they were all agreed. Their names are appended to all the propositions, and the two Calcutta members of the Commission bear ample testimony in this report, to the cordial and hearty co-operation not only of the chief, but of all the subordinate officers of the administration with whom they came in contact. We have here the instructive, and, we fear, unusual spectacle, of the whole body of officials of a large dependency uniting heartily to forward and carry out the economical views of the supreme Government, although, it cannot be doubted, involving in many instances the sacrifice of their own convenience, and, perhaps, in some, the diminution of their incomes. When we reflect upon the high value men put upon power and patronage, and how rarely we see those who have been accustomed to them cheerfully relinquishing any part of either, we shall perhaps appreciate more truly than we have hitherto done, the disinterestedness of the Government Officers in Burmah. But, as we hinted before, in these matters unanimity is the secret of success. No doubt there were some reforms the Calcutta Commissioners would have desired, and which the Burmah Officials could not approve, or the case again may have been reversed. On these points one or other evidently gave way, preferring to send up a series of recommendations to Government that carried the weight of an unanimous opinion, to framing proposals, perhaps more varied and universal in their application, but upon which all could not agree. It is a characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon to hold out tenaciously for what he believes to involve a principle. It is an admirable characteristic when rightly applied, though we fear, in too many cases, it degenerates into mere obstinacy. In this case, however, if disagreements did arise amongst the Burmah Commission, they wisely kept them to themselves, and the gratifying

result has been, that the Government hampered by no conflicting opinions, and not being called upon to decide between contending parties, has been able to proceed with promptitude to decided action.

Act V will, we presume, ere long have been made applicable to each of the local Governments of the Bengal Presidency, and we thus see a new system, amounting almost to a complete revolution in police administration, already inaugurated and about to be introduced throughout the whole of British India, from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin, and from Peshawar to the Eastern boundary of Pegu. By this measure the military police and the old thanadars will alike be abolished and will be replaced by a civil constabulary, more simple in its forms of procedure and at the same time, more centralized, sufficiently armed and organized to secure greater efficiency in action, while not sufficiently so, ever to become a source of apprehension to Government. The Native Army released from onerous and non-military duty will be concentrated at its several military stations, and being subjected to better discipline and supervision, will become more useful for its duties in the field, and while this improvement in its morale is effected, the simultaneous diminution of its numbers, will give a sensible relief to the Imperial finances. The new police will be less costly than the aggregate civil and military police have hitherto been, and the employment of constables for many duties of watch and ward over military stores in the place of sepoys, will render possible a further reduction of the numerical strength of the latter, and guarantee to the Government the exercise of a strict economy. Such, we believe, to be some of the advantages of the new system. We believe the subject has hardly received from the public the attention to which it is entitled, and that, as the change has been introduced in different provinces at different periods and not simultaneously in all, many people are unaware of the extent or the nature of the change. We shall consider ourselves fortunate if we have by these pages done anything to enlighten those in search of information, or to lead the public in general to a proper appreciation of the benefits anticipated as the result of the new system.

One or two observations still remain. And first, we would most earnestly advocate either the institution of a police bureau at Head Quarters of the Supreme Government, or that one of the already existing secretariats should be made the depository of police reports and police information of every sort from the several local governments. We believe the importance of this

can hardly be over estimated. By this means the Government will be able to compare the different local systems, to contrast the efficiency and the costliness of each provincial police, to discern the causes of variation in them, and to ascertain the reasons of the superiority or inferiority of one as regards another. In addition to this, a means of control will be furnished, which will act as an effectual check against departure from first principles.

We maintain that as with individual police officers so with local Governments, each should be left to carry out their legitimate objects in the way best adapted to their own genius, and to the peculiarities of the locality in which they happen to be situated, but as strongly do we maintain that the latitude left to them should in no case extend so far as to admit of a departure from fundamental principles. These having once been laid down, and forming as it were the back-bone of a system applicable to every locality, should be carefully guarded from any innovations or imagined improvements, which might otherwise be made at the caprice or upon the conviction of the rulers of any of the several provinces. While the Supreme Government wisely leaves the filling up of details, the completion of the structure as it were, to the local authorities; it should jealously protect the frame work, which secures a similarity of outline, from any interference which might mar the symmetry of the fabric.

Another point to which, we believe, too much attention cannot be directed, is the efficient supervision of the Police by hard-working, earnest European officers. Some go further than this, and desire a large introduction of Europeans into the upper ranks of the constabulary. This we look upon as a matter of minor importance. We believe that it matters little whether our Police Inspectors are Europeans, Eurasians or Natives so long as they are good men, and that good, well qualified useful men are to be found in each of the above classes of the community, we have little doubt, but we think that either Eurasians or Natives will rarely if ever be found to supply the place of the European district Superintendent. For this office honest, conscientious, hard-working men, who combine a true sense of duty with more than average acuteness, and common sense are required, and except, as we said above, in very rare instances, we do not believe such qualities will be found united anywhere but in the British Officer.

One more remark, and the task we proposed to ourselves at the outset will be completed. We desire one concluding to enter our protest against the inconsiderate objections so

often raised in the local Journals against the new police. We are happy to observe that the criticisms to which we allude, seldom come from the editors of newspapers themselves, but generally appear as 'communicated,' or 'from the pen of a correspondent' in some locality or other. Many of these, we have good reason to believe, emanate from disappointed aspirants to police appointments, but they are not the less mischievous, as calculated to mislead the public, and bring discredit upon a system yet in its infancy and entitled to a fair and impartial judgment. If a dacoity is successful and the perpetrators get off unpunished, or if a murder is undiscovered, we are told it is the fault of the new police and of the new system. We hear little or nothing in former days of the frequent and signal failures of the thanadaree. We believe that in Oudh, where the system has now been on trial for two years, the amount of detected crime is no way inferior, to say the least, to what it was under the old system, while the general security of life and property throughout the whole province, is so infinitely superior as to admit of no comparison. It is not fair to impute inefficiency where the only fault is the unavoidable one of want of experience. A good police cannot be formed in a day. Although a moderate amount of capacity and of training are sufficient for an ordinary constable, still a *certain* amount of both are requisite, and a very large amount of both, added to many other qualities which no training can supply, are necessary for a good detective. To form a good official of this class are required great intelligence, experience of men and society, a steady head, a strong nerve, a quick appreciation of the value of evidence, and an instinctive perception of the faintest clue to a mysterious deed. Such men cannot be either formed or found in a day, and those who set themselves up to impugn the system and its agents, forget that policemen are not heaven-born, and that detectives are not rained like manna from the skies. A consideration of the speech made by Sir Robert Peel in 1829 before the House of Commons, when proposing his Bill for a Metropolitan police, and a contrast of what the police in London was then and what it is in 1861, will clearly bear us out in these remarks and show what may be the result of thirty years' experience in developing the efficiency of a police force.

In conclusion. In 1856 the Court of Directors in a despatch addressed to the Governor General of India, sum up generally their opinion of the Indian police in the following remarkable sentences. 'An immediate and through reform of police in all the old provinces of British India, is loudly called for. That

‘the police in India has lamentably failed in accomplishing the ends for which it was established, is a notorious fact that it is all but useless for the prevention, and sadly deficient for the detection of crime, is generally admitted. Unable to check crime it is, with rare exceptions, unscrupulous as to its mode of wielding the authority with which it is armed for the function which it fails to fulfil, and has a general character for corruption and oppression. There is, moreover, a want of general organization, the force attached to each division is too much localized and isolated, and the notion of combination between any separate parts of it with the view of accomplishing the great objects of a police, is seldom entertained.’

We believe that the new system, we have been discussing, is calculated to remedy all the evils so forcibly pointed out in the above extract, and in that belief we demand for it a fair and unprejudiced trial.

We have read some where in the Bagh-o-Bahar of a country so admirably administered, that the inhabitants of the Bazaar never closed their doors at night, and travellers on the highway chinked their money in their pockets or tossed it in the air as they went along the roads, so confident were they in the vigilance of the public guardians of their property. We are not so foolish as to assert that we shall ever arrive at such a state of security in India, but there is no reason why we should not aim at it. The higher our endeavours, the nearer we are likely to approach to perfection. A good police can do much, but it cannot do all. We must educate the people, instil into their minds moral principles, and teach them that it is both more pleasant and more profitable to do right than to do wrong, before we can hope to make much impression on our criminal statistics, and after all is done, we cannot anticipate any very remarkable cessation from crime, either in India or in the world, before the millennium. But, if we cannot wholly suppress crime, we can at least do much to repress and to detect it. There is nothing Utopian in this. We believe the wheels of police administration have now got into the right groove, and we look with confidence to the experience of the next ten years to bear us out in our conclusions, and to justify our hopes.

ART II.—1 *Report on the extent and nature of the Sanitary Establishments for European Troops in India* Indian Records.

2 *Memorandum on the Colonization of India by European Soldiers* Punjab Records.

THE three great objects of all Indian statesmen at the present moment are, to develop the resources of this magnificent dependency, diminish the expenditure of its administration both civil and military and increase the strength of our grasp on the country. All suggestions likely to lead to the attainment of any one of these desirable results, are worthy of attention, how much more so they are when they are ~~concerning~~ ^{enhancing} in its consideration all three. We claim this distinction for that which is the subject of the present article. How far we are justified in so doing, let the reader judge, but at all events, whether the proposition be deemed worthy of consideration, or looked upon as too theoretical for practical success, some good purpose may be attained from the mere discussion of the subject. We shall have greatly over-estimated our subject, if in the course of our discussion its importance does not become apparent, and if our scheme should prove deficient or faulty in its details, more experienced or more capable men may be induced to fill up that outline, for we conceive that all must approve of the idea, though perhaps differing as to the mode in which it should be carried out, should such be the case our labour will not have been in vain.

We shall not follow the usual custom of passing in review the numerous instances, offered as well by ancient history, as by that of our own time, in which military colonization has been attempted, nor shall we seek to analyze the causes of their failure or success. In our opinion no good purpose could be effected by the adoption of such a course. The conditions and circumstances under which military colonies could be established in India, are exceptional and differ widely from those, which, in other countries, or in other ages, have attended similar experiments. We are not disposed to weary our readers, with prolix accounts of what is, after all, only apparently connected with our subject, and will therefore at once enter on the consideration of such a scheme as applied solely to India.

It would evidently be most desirable, if some means could be devised, by which we could reduce the present enormous native army. Such an act would not only largely diminish that over-

grown expenditure, which is at present paralyzing the action of our rulers, and preventing the introduction as well of administrative reforms, as of any large scheme calculated to increase the material resources of the country, but would also remove an important element of more than possible danger to the state. English troops must be maintained in a country which the recent mutiny has shown to be principally retained by the power of the sword. The effeminate trade-loving Bengalee may be well affected towards our rule, as well as the Hindu generally throughout the empire, but can we rely on the tranquillity of the Mahatta, with his hereditary love of war and plunder, of the so called independent states, of the Sikhs, with their abiding confidence in the ultimate triumph of the Khalsa, of the thirty millions of Mussulmans, animated by all the hatred of race, faith, and supplanted conquest? It is evident from past experience that we can neither trust to their military fidelity or civil loyalty. Such being the case, the necessity of maintaining a large English force becomes immediately apparent. This assertion is at once met by a statement of the vast cost of British soldiers, yet a trust-worthy army must be kept up, both for the maintenance of internal tranquillity, and for defence against external aggression. The fear of hostility from without may, by some, be considered groundless, but who can say that nothing is to be dreaded, either directly or indirectly, from Russia with her large and growing influence in central Asia, an influence to which our fleets can furnish no counterpoise, and which our diplomacy is far too obtuse and blundering to destroy? Who can assert that France, with her powerful steam Navy, might not convey a force to these shores, which, supported either by a disaffected population, or by some great feudatory, might inflict a wound, none the less hurtful, because it could not lead to any permanent success on the part of the invader? War and invasion are ever best averted by ample preparation for its event. These premises being admitted, the question arises, how are we to obtain the greatest amount of British combatant power, at the least possible cost. One method, undoubtedly, is to improve the means of communication, so that a large force might with rapidity be concentrated on the required spot. In this manner a small body, unless rebellion and war raged from one end of India to the other, would be as effective as a large army with our present imperfect means of transport. The construction of numerous railways, canals, and roads, together with the improvement of those of the latter already existing, as well as the organization of an efficient land and river transit, are measures which would lead to this desirable

result, and moreover be fought with numerous commercial advantages. Promising as such schemes may be, time is required for their completion, and till that time arrives, and even afterward, a considerable force of English troops must be retained. How to effect this at the least possible cost to the State, so as to combine military efficiency with the utilization of their productive power as citizens, is what we propose to consider in the following pages.

Increased military strength, reduced expenditure, and growing commerce would, in our opinion, follow the adoption of the scheme of Military Colonization which we now advocate.

In a country whose financiers deal with figures of vast magnitude, an experiment likely to be productive of such important results, such permanent diminution of expenditure, is at least worthy of consideration. Each succeeding year and every newly surveyed hundred miles, discovers places, both in the hills, and on isolated eminences in the plains, whose climate is adapted to English constitutions, and where pursuits either of a manufacturing, commercial, or agricultural nature, could be advantageously followed. As regards agriculture taken in its broadest sense, and not limited to the cultivation of grain, merely ground can generally be found at no great distance from those spots, which from their healthiness, are suitable for English residents. The lowest ranges of the Himalayas, the isolated eminences and detached mountain chains in the Punjab and Rappootana, may be cited as examples. Doubtless the Rajmahal and Neulgherry Hills, with many others, afford similar instances, but as we are merely indicating, not elaborating, a plan, we shall not attempt to be specific as to localities. Of course, in those places classed as regular hill stations, the settlers would be compelled to confine themselves, almost entirely, to manufactures or commerce, while in those of lower altitude and easier access to the plains, agriculture could be carried on with great ease, while they would be of sufficient height above the level of the sea to prove healthy. The house of the colonist would be within a mile or two, sometimes less, of his farm, a visit to which, morning and evening, even during the hot season, would be no great tax on his powers. Such an amount of supervision would be sufficient to prevent the labourers from neglecting their work, until the arrival of the cold weather, when a more close and active superintendence would be feasible. We employ the word 'superintendence' purposely, for in the present scheme we do not propose that, as a rule, the labours of the Englishman should extend beyond supervision. In English hands, under English direction, and with as little as possible intermeddling

by Government, we have little doubt but that the proposed military settlements, would soon become distinguished from the rest of India by prosperity and progress. Nor would such advantages be confined to the actual possessions of the British colonist. These spots would become the leaven influencing for good all the surrounding districts. The success of the experiment would attract many from England, who, forming partnerships with the military colonist, would contribute their money as an equivalent for his experience. By this means, a large amount of British capital would be invested in India, a result, the attainment of which, on an extensive scale, is as desirable as it is difficult.

We do not intend to enter in detail, on the question of what manufactures or what products, would be developed, originated, or improved, by the present scheme, we need merely mention that tea cultivation opens a vast field for the employment of industry and capital, that the demand for an increased production, a more careful preparation, of cotton is, particularly in the present state of affairs in America, daily becoming louder, that sugar is capable of augmented cultivation, and improved manufacture, that good thread of native construction is unknown, and that there is no reason why such should continue to be the case, that the inferior character of the iron generally made from the native ore, together with the success of the Kumaon iron works, and the daily increasing requirements of the different railway companies, point out an advantageous investment, that the large amount of business done by the Kussowlee and Mussoree breweries shows that a want, inseparable from the presence of Englishmen, may be supplied without recourse to importation, and, finally, that from the abundance of raw material, the varied nature of the soil, and the cheapness and abundance of labour, there is no reason why India should not compete, in the way of manufactures and commerce, with America, the West Indies, Manchester, Nottingham, Sheffield, Birmingham and the Welsh iron works. Before quitting this branch of our subject, we cannot refrain from mentioning, that we are acquainted with a private soldier in the Punjab, who is at this moment constructing a lace machine, having already successfully completed a model. Why should not lace be made in India equal to that of Nottingham or Belgium? Surely the delicate, and nimble fingers of the Hindus are peculiarly adapted to such work. These facts show, that there exists in India, ample scope for English energy and industry, in the shape of superintendence and direction.

Having premised thus much, we proceed to suggest our plan, which is, that in localities more or less elevated above the plains,

such as those we have indicated, military colonies should be established, under the following conditions and arrangements.

The privates and non-commissioned officers should be men who have served at least 14 years in the army, of which not less than 8 should have been in India. No one should be selected who was not married, preference being given to those with large families. Good character and health, as well as active habits, and a colloquial knowledge of the language, should be considered indispensable qualifications. The candidate should be acquainted with some trade, manufacture, or branch of agriculture, or be able to show a probability of supporting himself and family in comfort and respectability, and each man should possess not less than 300 rupees. On quitting the regular army, he should re-engage for 16 years, or so long a period as, when added to his former service, would make up a total of 30 years. In return for this prolonged engagement, each man should receive a free grant of land suited as far as possible, to the purpose or cultivation to which the colonist proposes to devote his industry. This land he should not be permitted to alienate, until the expiration of his service, when it should become his own absolutely, and in fee simple. In case of death before the completion of the tenant's engagement, the land should be in the same manner the absolute property of his legal representative, subject to the condition, that it should be resided on by an English owner or agent, for at least 16 years after the date of the first grant. In case of the colonist soldier being invalided before the completion of the 30 years total service, the grant, in the same manner and under the same condition provided above in the event of death, should become the absolute property of the soldier. The colonist should at all times, until the absolute acquisition of the land, be liable to be deprived of it, for repeated and grave misconduct, or for neglecting to keep the estate under fair cultivation. During the whole period of colonial service the soldier should receive two fifths both of Indian pay, and family allowances, and when called out for more than the regulated days of training, the full amount of both should be granted him. In all cases of military offences the colonist should be subject to the Mutiny Act, Articles of War, and Queen's Regulations, while all civil offences, should be dealt with by common law. The military colonists should be called out for one day's drill in each month, in their respective villages, and for eight days together for battalion drill annually in some central place. On these occasions they might be massed, either by wings, or regiments, as should be deemed most advisable. In addition to the above they should be liable to be called out, for not

more than three days in each year for guards of honour or other occasions of ceremony. In case of war or disturbance, or when they may be apprehended, or in any special emergency, such as the country being temporarily denuded of regular troops, the Lieut Governor or Governor should be empowered to call out all, or any of them, for field service. Should any colonist before the expiration of his engagement become invalided as unfit for active service, but be still considered capable of garrison duty, he should be placed on the reserve list, and be only compelled to attend the monthly and annual training in his own village. Such men should during the annual training, be practised in musketry, at as long ranges as can be met with in the immediate vicinity of the settlement, but care should be taken to render such drill and practice, as little fatiguing and irksome to them as possible. On the corps to which they belong being called out for active service, the invalids should form the garrison of the station. In the event of the soldier becoming permanently unfit for any service, he should be called before a standing committee, consisting of one field officer as president, and two surgeons as members, who, according to the circumstances of the case, such as the man's utter incapacity for any work, his pecuniary circumstances, his character, &c, should recommend him for the receipt of a pension not exceeding two fifths of what his pay and family allowance would amount to, were he still serving in the regular army. This pension should only be granted from year to year, and the amount for the ensuing twelve months should be fixed annually by the standing committee, at the expiration, however, of the term for which he engaged to serve in the colonist corps, the pension should cease. In order to secure either the men or their wives and families from positive want, under any circumstances, every man should, after the expiration of the third year's service, be compelled to contribute a very small sum monthly, such as two annas for himself, and one anna for his wife and for each child, by which a fund could be formed, whence relief might be afforded in cases of absolute distress either to the man after the expiration of his service, or to the widow and children in case of his decease. No man at the expiration of his engagement, should draw either pay, pension, or family allowances, except for special and meritorious services, for which a certain small sum should be annually placed at the disposal of the Secretary to Government, Military Department. Even after the termination of the period or the soldier's second enlistment, the original grantee of land should be bound to render feudal service by appearing in arms for the defence of the station in case of actual attack.

The Colonist villages should be occupied either by a company amounting to from sixty to a hundred and twenty or a subdivision amounting to from thirty to sixty men. No village should be more than ten miles from the next, or further than twenty-five miles from the central point of assembly. Each company of eighty men and under, should be officered by one Captain and one Lieutenant, when over that strength another Lieutenant should be added. When the battalion consists of eight companies or under, the field officers should be two, namely, a Lieutenant Colonel and a Major, if over eight companies a second Major should be allowed. No Battalion should consist of more than twelve companies, and no company of more than one hundred and twenty men, exclusive of the reserve or invalid force. In each village an earthen fort with a shot-proof magazine and arsenal should be constructed. In the enclosure there should be also a good well, situated in a spot sheltered from the fire of the enemy, and provided with covered passages leading to it. The armoury should be sufficiently large to contain all the women and children of the station, while the men might obtain shelter in the casemates. A sufficient amount of provisions should be kept in store for a week's siege. The hospital, and treasury, should be within the walls of the fort, the latter being constructed in such a way, as regards flanking, defence, &c. that a very small garrison would suffice to hold it. One large 65 pounder pivot gun placed in the most commanding position, together with some half dozen 24 pounder howitzers and 12 pounder cannonades distributed along the ramparts, would complete the armament of the fort. An Assistant Surgeon and a Chaplain should be appointed to, at least, every three villages, while in each should be stationed a medical subordinate. The Assistant Surgeon and medical subordinate might also be employed to spread the blessing of vaccination among the surrounding natives and have charge of a native dispensary or hospital. In addition to his purely spiritual duties, the Chaplain would be able to superintend the education of the district. For this purpose, village schools for the younger children, and a central academy at Head Quarters, for those of more advanced ages, should be provided. Attached to each village school, a native class should be established, having no communication with the other children. The senior Chaplain of the corps, in concert with the Colonel, would be held responsible for the effectual working of the education of the whole of the district occupied by the regiment. At the Head Quarter Academy, some useful trades and arts, together with Hindustanee

might be taught, in addition to the usual branches of education.

Every officer should be invested with magisterial and collectorial powers over the district adjoining his station, while the Colonel and Field Officers should occupy the position of Commissioner and Deputy Commissioners over the division occupied by their corps. Each officer should receive a grant of land proportionate to his rank, and on the same terms as the non-commissioned officers and soldiers. On promotion he should be allowed the option of either buying the estate of the officer he replaces, receiving a certain allowance from Government, which should be the difference of price, according to calculation between the grant of uncultivated land held by him before promotion, and the amount attached to his present rank, or of buying from Government at a certain fixed rate an amount of land equal to that attached to his former position, receiving a gratuitous addition sufficient to make the whole of the new estate equal to the reversion belonging to his increased rank. No officer should be appointed who has not been at least 7 years in India, and in 9 the service. He should be married, able to show himself the possessor of a sum not under 1,500 rupees after deducting the expenses of his journey, he should have passed in Hindustanee, as well as have some colloquial acquaintance with the dialect of the district in which his colony is placed. After serving 20 years in the colonial corps, the grant of land in his possession at the time should become absolutely and entirely his own, provided, he shall have served at least four years in his present rank, otherwise he would receive only what appertained to that he last held. He should also, as a further boon, be allowed to retire on the full English pay of his rank, together with an honorary step of promotion.

An Inspector of Military Colonies should be appointed, who would report to Government as to their efficiency and proper working, also whether any officer from age, sickness, or inefficiency, was disqualified for his post. The Colonel of each corps would assist in this, by means of his yearly or half-yearly reports, addressed to the above mentioned Inspector.

The force should be under the direct control of the civil authorities, except in time of war. In each battalion 200 colonial Artillery men with four light 6 pounder guns, and two 12 pounder howitzers should be distributed among the different companies. These pieces of ordnance should be of as light a description as possible, so that their transport, when the corps took the field, could easily be managed by mules, ponies, bullocks, or coolies. If to the establishment of the battalion were added a strong troop

of 70 Colonist light dragoons and 60 horses, a corps complete in every respect would be the result. This troop could be stationed in a village on one of the lower ranges, not more than two miles from the plains, and in as central a position, as regards the other villages of the battalion as possible.

After the first nomination, promotion should go in the corps, both as regards officers and non commissioned officers, with the exception of one third of the vacancies, which might be filled up by drafts from the regular army. All promotion should, for the sake of convenience, be confined, as far as possible, to the village or district where the vacancy had occurred. At the Head Quarter colony should reside the Regimental Staff. This would be composed of the Paymaster, performing, in addition to his other duties, those of Civil Treasurer, the Quarter master, also acting as Assistant Commissary General, the Surgeon, and the Adjutant. Of these, the Quarter master and the Adjutant would perform none but purely military services. A Captain and two Lieutenants from the Artillery should superintend the gun drill, take charge of the Ordnance stores, and, on the corps being called out, either for training or active service, officer the Field Battery. When not occupied by their special duties, they should be at the disposal of the commanding officer for employment, either, in a civil, or a military capacity, or in both combined. For example, they might conduct the survey of the district, and take charge of the roads, a task for which their previous scientific education would admirably fit them. As regards musketry instruction, one of the subalterns might be appointed to perform, in addition to his other duties, those of Instructor of musketry. The possession of a Hythe certificate should be an indispensable qualification for this post, and some extra pay should be attached to it. Promotion by brevet should be allowed to go on, and officers of the Colonist Corps should rank, and take command with those of the regular army, according to date of commissions. Leave should be granted as laid down in the new regulations for H. M.'s Indian forces, while pensions and compassionate allowances should be bestowed in accordance with the rules of H. M.'s service. This regulation of course is not to be taken as interfering with any vested interests regarding Indian pensions. The monthly pay of the officers of the colonist corps, to be as follows, Lieutenant 350 rupees, Captain 550 rupees, Major 900 rupees, Lieutenant Colonel 1300 rupees, with a command allowance of 400 rupees. The Regimental Staff should receive 100 rupees a month more than they would have obtained in the line, with the exception of

the Adjutant whose pay is already large, and who would have none but purely regimental duties to perform. The Regimental Staff should also receive grants of land according to their relative army rank. It may be observed that the rate of pay here fixed, is larger than that of the regular army, the Colonist Corps, moreover, receiving grants of land in addition. The reason for this apparent anomaly is to be found in the fact, that besides the military duties, in time of peace sufficiently light, the whole civil administration of the district would be performed by the officers of the corps, and that their promotion would be much slower than in the regular service. As regards the extra 100 rupees a month proposed for all the staff, with the exception of the Adjutant, it must be remembered that their labours would not be limited to duties of a purely regimental nature. For every three or four Colonist regiments, a Lieutenant Colonel of Artillery and one of Cavalry should be appointed. These officers should not interfere with the Infantry Lieutenant Colonels, except as regards matters specially belonging to their own branches of the service. On the regiments being called out for training, they should superintend the cavalry and artillery drill, and, on Colonist brigades being formed, would assume command of their respective arms. Their pay would only be, 1200 rupees a month consolidated, except in the field, or when called out for permanent duty, on which occasions, they should receive the pay and allowances attached to their rank in the regular service. The freedom from all civil duty explains the proposal of a rate of pay lower than that suggested for Infantry Lieutenant Colonels. The Captains and Lieutenants of Artillery and Cavalry, being employed in a civil as well as a military capacity, should receive respectively 120 rupees and 70 rupees a month over and above the pay of their rank in the regular army.

The cost of the scheme is now to be considered, and though we do not purpose to enter into intricate calculations on the subject, yet we do not hesitate to assert, that, considering that the officers would administer the civil government of the district, a very considerable saving would accrue to the State. The expense of the grants of land would be but trifling, while the pay and pensions would be less than that of a regiment of the line.

Besides these considerations, the passages home, as regards the men entering the Colonist Corps, otherwise requisite would be saved. Though much cheaper, such a corps would be, *ceteris paribus*, very nearly as efficient as a regiment of the line, indeed in some respects it would be more so. A series of such colonies,

located in strong positions, and consisting of men acquainted with the country in general, and the immediate neighbourhood in particular, acclimatized to India, if such a thing as acclimatization be possible, and of tolerably strong constitutions, as shown by their lasting through the previous line service, would be of incalculable benefit for the occupation of the country. Each battalion of such a corps, at all times complete in itself, and composed of men accustomed to natives, and many to Indian warfare would be equal to four times their number of Sepoys. During the absence of the battalions on service, the colonist villages, with their fortified keeps manned by invalids, those on the reserve list, and those bound to furnish feudal service, together with the independent English residents, would supply an important element of strength.

The inducements held out to the men would consist in the free grant of land, the pension—for their pay in the Colonist Corps would be virtually such—drawn throughout the period of colonist service, the comparative freedom from military restraint, residence in a fixed and healthy locality, the family allowances bestowed until the termination of the second engagement, and the great scope for industry and talent.

As to the officers the attractions are, we consider, quite sufficient to induce able men to join the corps. They are as follows—the grant of land, the high pay, and the settled home in a good climate, by which the expense and worry of marching, so great in the case of families in India, would be avoided, we use the term settled home, because the removals on account of promotion would neither be sufficiently frequent, nor to so great a distance, as to deserve mention. To married men with large families and who had been unfortunate in promotion, such a corps would offer great advantages.

By entering it, both officers and men would be able to reckon on providing comfortably and respectably for their wives and children. To government, the direct results of the scheme would be increased English agency in civil administration, and the establishment of an efficient force, costing little and supplying the place of native regiments, while those of a more indirect nature must be found in an improved state of the revenue arising from developed resources, increased production and a higher state of civilization—that best safeguard of our rule, in the tranquillity and consequent prosperity which would soon become apparent, in the inducement which the prospect of ultimate admission to such a corps, would hold out to the enlistment of a better class of recruits in an extended acquaintance with the

natives, and then state of feeling, and lastly in the moral hold on the country, which the increasing English population would daily render more firm. Nor would the country itself, and the native population be without benefits from such a plan. We will indicate some of them. Increase of employment, the opening of many new branches of trade and agriculture, together with the improvement of those already existing; the establishment of many thousands of English homes, each acting as a little centre of civilization, the promotion of industry and enterprise by the increased strength of our rule, and, lastly, the cultivation of much land at present lying waste or but imperfectly tilled.

These are some of the advantages which may with confidence be predicted, as the consequences of the adoption of military colonization. Indeed the advantages both political and military, commercial and financial, appear to us so great, while the cost of an experiment would be so small, that it would be unworthy of Government to delay any longer making it. Success being, as we can scarcely doubt, the result, military colonies should be established throughout the whole of India. The distribution might be as follows. To the Punjab three might be allotted, one stationed in the hills near Muzee, another in the Kangra district, and a third in one of the central ranges to the east of Jhelum and Rawul Pindie. At present there are in the Punjab about 10 regiments of British Infantry, 3 of Cavalry, and 9 troops or batteries of Artillery. Under the proposed system there would be added to the above, 3 Regiments of Colonist Infantry amounting to, from 2,500 to 3,000 men, 3 Troops of Light Dragoons numbering some 160 or 180 sabres, and 3 Field Batteries. Such a force, supplementary to the regular troops, would enable the Government to dispense with the present large native force, with the exception of some 10 Regiments of Infantry, 8 of Cavalry, and 2 Mountain Batteries, which would be required for frontier and escort duty. Nor would the three Colonist Field Forces be the whole of the strength substituted for the disbanded native corps, for from 15 to 25 villages in each regiment with their fortified keeps, would serve as so many *points d'appui*, so many places of refuge, and so much overwing force—if we may use the expression—with which to maintain our rule in the neighbouring districts. Assuming, therefore, that the colonists would furnish 3,500 men of all arms, ready at any moment to take the field, and reckoning 1,000 English, as equal to 4,000 Native Soldiers, 14,000 of the latter could be disbanded, and we should still be stronger than before by 15 or 25 village

forts garrisoned by the reserve force, invalids and volunteers, as well as by the moral influence of an increased and increasing English population. The reasoning and calculations applied to the Punjab, would also hold good in any other province, with the exception that the former requires a larger native force than would elsewhere be necessary as regards at least the Bengal Presidency, one colonist regiment might be stationed in the hills between Kalka and Simla, and one each in those of Rajmahal, Dehra and Darjeeling districts, while a fifth could be located among the isolated hills and ranges, so frequent in that part of Rajpootana where the Bengal and Bombay Presidencies touch. As regards Bombay and Madras we cannot venture even to suggest spots as suitable for military colonies, but we believe many—particularly in the Neilgherries—are to be met with well adapted to the required purpose. To each of these Presidencies, we would allot two Regiments. According to this arrangement the total number of colonist corps for all India, would amount to 12, varying in effective field strength from 700 to 1100 each, and giving a total of about 10,000 Infantry, 700 Cavalry, and 72 pieces of Artillery. Thus, by our former calculation of the relative value of English and Native Soldiers, would enable the Government to disband about 50,000 of the latter, while in compensation it would gain, besides the 12 Colonist Regiments, about 250 village forts sufficiently strong to resist a *coup de main* and to hold out until the arrival of succour. The distribution we have recommended would tend to reduce the Native Army of Bengal, in a much greater proportion than those of Bombay and Madras. This we consider advisable, on account of the inferior trustworthiness of the Bengal sepoy as compared with his Madras or Bombay comrade.

The companies of each Colonist corps being, at the utmost, only 25 or 28 miles from the Head Quarters—this last being invariably in the centre—the concentration of the Regiment could be easily effected. A simple system of telegraph communication, either electric or other being organized, the different companies could be collected, within 12 hours after the issue of the order from Head Quarters, and the baggage, camp equipage, and guns within 6 more. The troop of Cavalry, being only useful in the plains, should be ready to join the rest of the corps as it debouched from the hills. Each Regiment might easily be made as efficient as a moveable column, and horses be obtained for the Battery, by adopting the following arrangements. Every 8 privates and corporals should maintain among

them, 1 camel, or each take it in turn, each Sergeant 1 mule, each Lieutenant 1 mule and 1 draught horse, each Captain 1 mule and 2 draught or saddle horses, each Major, 2 mules and 2 draught or saddle horses, each Lieutenant Colonel, 2 mules and 3 draught or saddle horses. To aid in keeping up this transport establishment 2 annas per day should be allowed by Government for each animal. Provided they were kept tolerably efficient and in fair condition, the owners might be allowed to use them for any purpose they chose. No animal, destined for the use of the regiment should be purchased or changed, without the approval of the officer commanding the station, who, while instructed to make this obligation of providing transport as little irksome as possible, should be empowered to withhold the 2 annas a day if the animals were not kept in working condition. By this means provision would be made for the transport of baggage, camp equipage, and stores, as well as for the draught of the Battery. A monthly muster should be taken, on which occasion, those animals allotted to the baggage, should be loaded, and those destined for the Battery harnessed, the whole being taken for a march of one mile at least for the sake of practice. Each owner should be responsible that the different animals received a short training to fit them for their intended purpose, this together with the monthly and annual drills and musters, would make them fit to take the field at a moment's notice, in a tolerable state of efficiency; while a month on a campaign, in the charge of experienced hands, would render them perfect.

More than 12 such colonies, as we have described, could not be maintained at their full strength, nor perhaps is there sufficient reason why so many should be kept up. Let the number of these corps be proportioned to the supply obtainable. In the first place let one colony of one company be tried. If it prove a failure, the expense will not have been very great, nor would the experiment be totally devoid of benefit to the country. If, on the contrary, success attended the experiment, the number of colonies may gradually be increased, until they amount to 12 regiments, or as many as may be deemed advisable. The men attracted would, as a general rule, be those who either would not otherwise have remained in the service, or at best would have stayed but a short time longer; thus the regular army would not be injured.

Let us briefly recapitulate in a single paragraph, the advantages attendant on the adoption of the scheme which forms the subject of this article. It would act as an inducement to a superior description of recruits; it would be a strong motive to steady, sober, and saving habits in regiments on Indian

service; vast sums, now expended in providing passages home for discharged men, would be retained in the Treasury, it would furnish a veteran, yet healthy and efficient force, ready to take the field at any moment, and better able to resist the diseases incidental to a campaign, than one composed of those whose health had been impaired by a long residence in the plains, it would increase the civilization of the country, develop its resources and tend to the discovery of many at present hidden sources of wealth, it would strengthen our grasp of India, while permitting the disbandment of a large native force, thus relieving us of a very just cause for apprehension, and our exhausted treasury of a considerable expenditure; it would bring English capital to India, and lastly it would enable Government to have an increased English civil administration in the numerous and extensive districts occupied by the colonists. Some outlay would doubtless in the first place be necessitated, but not more than would be covered by the first two or three years' savings from diminished military expenditure. Some details of the scheme brought in the preceding pages to the notice of the reader would probably require modification, and others elaboration. Time and experience would be our best guides, as to the manner of carrying out a scheme never before attempted under similar circumstances. But should even a complete remodelling of the scheme be found necessary, it would not affect the principles we have sought to urge on our readers namely, that the establishment of military colonies in India, would both directly and indirectly increase our strength, augment our riches, and diminish our expenditure.

Considering the practical minds with whom by writing this article, we bring ourselves into contact, it was necessary that we should draw out a rough plan of details to show, the feasibility of the scheme we advocate, and that it claims to be something more than a mere speculative theory. Such must be accepted as an excuse for touching on questions of machinery, on which so many are able to give more valuable advice than ourselves. Even, however, should other means of carrying out the same project be adopted, we shall not regret having entered into that part of the subject, for our very mistakes will serve as beacons to guide the organizer to complete success. Grant but the principle and let any one have the credit of the machinery by which it is carried out. Such a field as India offers for English energy and capital can no longer be neglected, nor can the safety of the brightest gem in the British crown be left to dogmatical and worn out traditionary policy.

The native population of India may be compared to fire, a good and useful agent if kept under proper subjection, but at the same time a most dangerous element if neglected or permitted to gain the upper hand. That the profession of arms is not a safe outlet for their energies, is acknowledged by all save a few, who, unenlightened by the fearful warnings afforded by Indian history in general, and the late mutiny in particular, perceive no danger, in trusting the native with arms, and imagine consequently that none exists. An army liable at any moment to be excited to madness, for the slightest, the most childish, the most imaginary reasons, an army which hates, whilst it fears us, an army which is ignorant of the very name of loyalty, an army, the hostile races and sects of which are moved by different motives in a strong confederation of discontent against their rulers, an army which cannot be depended on even to consult its most obvious interests, an army whose revolt would receive the support of public opinion, and whose operations in case of rebellion would be openly favoured or secretly sympathized with by nine hundred and ninety nine out of every thousand of the population, an army of this description cannot be looked upon in any other light than that of a nuisance, one which cannot altogether be done away with, but which should be brought within the smallest possible compass. This may in our opinion be effected by improving our means of internal transport, and thus with a small number of troops enabling a strong force to be suddenly massed on any threatened point, and by the establishment of military colonies. This last measure besides affording military strength, would benefit the country in many ways, amongst others it would attract settlers and capital from England, and if our hopes are not deceiving us would inaugurate a new era for India. In 20 years' time this well nigh bankrupt country would become a rich, lightly taxed, yet highly productive dependency; adding equally to the wealth, strength, and reputation of the British empire. What is it now? a source of weakness to England, dependent on her for security, tottering on the verge of insolvency, and a source of well founded anxiety to all entrusted with its Government.

ART. III.—1 *Report on the Mundla District South of the Ner-budda.* By G. F. PEARSON, Capt, Superintendent of Forests, Jubbulpore Division.

2. *Manuscript Reports on different parts of Central India*

EVERY one, who has paid even the slightest attention to such subjects, is aware, that there exists within the limits of British India, a vast area of which very little is really known. An inspection of our best maps, the sheets for instance of the Indian Atlas, will at once impress this fact on the mind of any one who entertains any doubts about its truth, and some idea of the immense extent of those unknown tracts may-perhaps be best realized by finding in such Maps the words '*unexplored,*' or '*unfrequented and thinly inhabited jungles,*' spreading in widely separated letters over the paper, or perhaps still more forcibly by the eloquent silence of blank spaces

Nevertheless, within this area lie lofty hills and wide valleys, broad plains and winding rivers, abounding in scenery whose picturesque beauty it would be very difficult to match, it almost all lies high above the sea level, many portions of it, now practically uninhabited, are extremely fertile, and not a few isolated spots possess advantages of climate, which, although they may not render them equal to our 'hill stations' or Sanatoria, yet give them a vast superiority over our ordinary cantonments as residences for Europeans, some such places will we believe be found well suited to the English constitution, and perhaps in a few instances may even become the permanent abodes of settlers of our race.

These vast jungle tracts have been penetrated here and there by an enterprising sportsman, or by some zealous missionary, and an occasional official has now and again found his way into them, when some exceptional duty has called for his presence far away from his ordinary beat, such explorers have left isolated records of their adventures and observations, some in the pages of the sporting Journals, some in those publications which are devoted to Missionary labors, while others and by far the most valuable are buried deep among the Records of Government The Journal of the Asiatic Society also contains some papers of great

value and interest, such as those by Major Sherwill and Mr. Samuels, describing different parts of the jungle highlands of Hindustan, and the wild people who inhabit them, the ethnologists too have been busy in the same learned volumes. We believe indeed that the study of the aborigines of Hindustan has been pretty successfully prosecuted both physiologically and philologically. Notwithstanding all this, if we consider the immense extent of the subject, and the many points of interest which it presents, and if we remember the proverbially roving tendencies of Englishmen, and their usual readiness to give the public the benefit of their experiences, at least in these all-printing days, it will not, we think, be found unfair to assert that we know marvellously little of these mountain districts of British India.

The explanation, as we presume to be found in the fact that those qualified to collect the information, or likely to record it for our benefit, have been fully occupied in other and more important duties. All attention has been naturally enough absorbed by the tax paying and litigating dweller in the cultivated districts, while the man of the jungles, who paid nothing to the public treasury, and seldom appeared in the civil or criminal courts, remained almost unknown, and uncared for. In Bengal this was eminently the case, until the Sonthal, not long since, forced himself somewhat unpleasantly on the notice of the authorities.

It would be an interesting enquiry, but quite impracticable within the limits of an ordinary article, to ask how far the successive conquerors of Hindustan established their power over the inhabitants of the jungle tracts, or how far their influence was directly or indirectly felt within its limits. One thing is however evident, namely, that from the time of the great Aryan invasion, the physical capabilities of the land have always regulated the progress of civilization, and of the more civilized races in their advance over the country. The aborigines, or antecedent possessors of the soil were driven first from the great alluvial plains, and more fertile valleys. Nor would it seem that these ancient immigrants ever gained, perhaps they never even cared to seek, much control over the savage denizens of the hills and forests which on every side hemmed in their conquests. Subsequently, however, there was at least one way in which the masters of the rich plains were forced into contact with the wild people of the highlands: the roads from city to city necessarily often passed through parts of the jungle country; whenever this was the case, tolls, and black-mail were, as a matter of course, levied by the savages on the unhappy trader, these were, of course, equally

often made the pretext for exactions which must have had a most injurious effect on trade, and may in some cases have put an end to its very existence: we may moreover be sure, that had as such spoliation must have been, it sometimes still further degenerated into open pillage and wholesale plunder and murder; we know indeed that this was the case, for we found it so, as British power extended itself from district to district throughout Hindustan, and some of our earliest intercourse with the jungle tribes was carried on by those officers, to whom the duty was entrusted of putting a stop to their depredations, and keeping open the principal lines of communication. For this purpose different plans were adopted in different parts of the country, to meet the varying conditions of each locality. Cleveland pensioned in the Damin-i-koh (better known as the Rajmahal hills,) the chiefs of tribes, and heads of villages, who have accordingly ever since received from five to twenty rupees a month from government elsewhere in Behar and throughout central India, the leaders of gangs of plunderers, rather than hereditary chiefs were dealt with they were made Ghatwals a tract of land, sometimes a very large one, was given to the Ghatwal, either at a very low rent, or else rent free, and a regular stipend payable in money was afterwards added in lieu of his supposed right to the tolls above mentioned, and on the understanding that he should be held responsible for the safety of a certain length of road, and for all highway robberies occurring within a district agreed on. The Ghatwali, unlike the pensions of the Rajmahal men, was not hereditary, in theory at least infraction of the conditions of the grant rendered it *ipso facto* vacant, and although we believe that in practice the son, or other heir generally succeeded to the dignity and emolument, yet the sanction of Government was always necessary. In each case the object which brought the British authorities into contact with the jungle people was to secure the safety of the principal roads; and the plans which they followed were crowned with a success so complete that in almost every instance the dangers which their negotiations were intended to meet have been entirely forgotten, and the continuance of the pensions and grants seems an anachronism in our times. Such negotiations, however, and the intercourse to which they gave rise, were from the nature of the case confined to a few localities, and of course left the highlands of Hindustan nearly as much a terra incognita as before.

It is not our intention to attempt any general description of so vast an area, our limits would not admit of it, nor do we indeed possess the necessary materials we may refer the reader to

such papers as we have above alluded to, assuring him that they abound in interesting matter, and considering those and other such isolated records, as useful material for the construction of a still future history of the ancient inhabitants of Hindustan, we shall endeavour to add one more to their number, and trust that we shall do good service in calling attention to the contents of the document before us

That portion of the vast area which we have called the highlands of Hindustan, to which we shall confine our remarks, includes the patch of country, which, on our maps, bears the names of Santpoora, Ghondwana, Mundla, Sohagpore, and Singrowlie. It is thus bounded on the north by the generally east and west line traced across the peninsula by the source of the Nerbudda and of the Soane rivers, and without undertaking to fix any definite limit for our area on the south, we shall not wander far in that direction, on the west, the course of the Taptee river might furnish us with a convenient and sufficiently definite boundary line, but to the east, we cannot find one, for the wild unknown tract extends far down towards the Madras Country, behind Chota Nagpore, and Orissa

We shall then confine our remarks to the tract of country stretching east and west immediately to the south of the Soane and the Nerbudda valleys, and within these limits shall rather dwell on some selected localities than attempt to give any general descriptions. The whole is however very beautiful it is hilly, almost mountainous, covered with fine forest jungle, and watered by streams and rivers which always contain running water. The scorching heat of May and June never burns up the grass, which is at all seasons fresh and green. game abounds, the gour (bison), buffalo, sambur (elk), the golden barasinga (lal sambur), the spotted deer, chikara, hog deer, benkra (jungle sheep) and ravine deer, hogs and hares are found almost every-where, and elephants in some places. Tigers too and leopards, bears, hyenas and wolves are for the most part plentiful. the tigers are so numerous in parts of this country as to have got the credit of having depopulated whole Talooks. Government indeed organized an expedition against them and an officer was actually appointed for the duty shortly before the mutiny broke out

Many an exciting episode in the history of Hindustan has been played out in this jungle country, from the most ancient times down to the chase after Tantia Topee. From the base of the hills to the north the advancing tide of the Aryan immigration must have been often beaten back and, although

we shall presently have to notice at least one case, in which the conquerors exercised power within our limits, yet even now, along the Nerbudda and Soane valleys, there is a sharply marked line of demarcation between the inhabitants of the fine alluvial flats which stretch along the banks of those rivers, and the denizens of the hilly country south of them. The aborigines perhaps long retained sufficient power to make outlying settlements among the hills, undesirable for the inhabitants of the plains, and a defensible frontier a necessity of self-preservation whilst the wild tribes were themselves safe from all fear of invasion among the trackless forests, rugged hills and deep ravines, to which they could at a moment's notice retire, even if attacked in their few and scattered villages, and clearings.

Ethnology has, we are aware, subdivided these aboriginal inhabitants of Hindustan into many families: their language, we believe, warrants this classification, as do also some perhaps of their habits and religious peculiarities: the Hindus moreover speak of them as belonging to many different castes, such as Gonds, Coles, Bygars, Sonthals, Bheels, Bhoomeahs, Kurkars, &c. notwithstanding which, to the unscientific traveller their similarities will far outweigh all such differences, he will infallibly treat them all as one people, or his first effort at classification will certainly be based on the greater or less admixture of the blood of the higher races, which he will not fail soon to notice here and there among them: utterly unable to distinguish a Gond from a Sonthal, or a Bheel from a Cole, he will at once seize on the palpable difference between the Gond inhabiting a village near the plains, and who evidently has Hindu blood in his veins, and his fellow Gond of pure extraction from the depth of the jungle fastnesses.

This method of ignoring the ethnological difficulties, which meet us, is eminently unscientific, but as it does no violence to facts, and will prove convenient in avoiding confusion, it may suffice for our purposes: the following passage from Captain Pearson's Report contains a good description of these people which may be considered as generally applicable, and which also will be found to contain a practical comment, on the advantages of our method of classification, or rather of ignoring subdivisions.

'The Gonds hardly require any description, they are in this part of the country, for the most part an exceedingly poor, miserable, indolent and unsettled race, far inferior as far as I have seen to the Beril Gonds; cultivating in any spot but just enough to supply their personal wants, very timid, and I

'think, much kept down and bullied by the petty landowners,
 'their own Thakooris it is perhaps a misfortune for them.
 'that, owing to the extreme fertility of the soil, kodon, which
 'is their staple article of food, is almost spontaneously produced,
 '* * * they wear the most infinitesimal portion of clothing,
 'that it is possible to conceive, and subsist in a great measure
 'on the natural produce of the jungles, * * * they generally live
 'in the most out of the way parts of the forest, and at the
 'top of the very highest hills, * * * they use no implement of
 'agriculture whatever except the hatchet, * * * they show
 'considerable energy in cutting down very large tracts of jungle
 'on the hill sides, where they invariably form their fields, burning
 'the trees as soon as they are dry, and simply throwing down
 'kodon and kootkee seed, at the commencement of the rains, in the
 'ashes. This seed is left to come up of itself as it best can, with-
 'out the slightest attempt at ploughing or preparing the ground
 'in any way whatever further than I have described above, and
 'when the crop has grown and ripened, such as has escaped the
 'depredations of the deer and wild hogs is cut and stored for
 'use * * * They never use the same spot twice, and in-
 'variably select the sides of hills, for their fields, leaving un-
 'touched the rich soil of the valleys. It is not less wonderful to
 'behold the immense tracts of jungle, which they have cleared
 'with their hatchets in the course of time, than the curious
 'spots which they select for their fields and huts. I have seen a
 'Bygar field on a ledge of rock, half way down the steep ghats
 'overhanging Lumnee, with a precipice of 600 or 800 feet
 'both above and below. and on a dark night, on the summit of
 'the highest hill, one glimmering spark may often be seen
 'showing the solitary hut of some Bygar, who has built his hut
 'and formed his field there * * * I cannot find that
 'the Bygars differ in any way from the Gonds in their man-
 'ners and customs, but they are usually, I think, blacker in
 'color and more athletic, they appear both to use the same
 'ceremonies and to worship the same idols. At first on going
 'near their villages they are usually very timid, but after a
 'little encouragement they would often become very communi-
 'cative and even confidential. I should call them a simple,
 'harmless, and, I think, generally a truthful race rather slow
 'at comprehending any thing at first, but afterwards, when
 'they understand it, showing considerable shrewdness in many
 'respects, much more so than you would at first give them
 'credit for.' p 16,

It has been suggested from several considerations, some of which we shall have to notice presently, and is, we believe, pretty generally believed, that the Gonds once enjoyed a high state of civilization, or, at least, that they were once at a very much higher point in the scale of progress, than that at which we find them. The subject of the descent of any people in the scale of civilization, their degradation in knowledge of the arts of life is one full of interest it has engaged the attention of many thinkers in our time, and has given rise to many diversities of opinion. Some assert that such cases occur frequently, or even that all savage nations were once in a state of comparatively high civilization others, on the contrary, believe that if such cases ever occur at all, they are extremely rare, and that the amount of the real retrogression is always much less than is generally supposed.

Now within our area we find everywhere traditions of the golden days of the Gond Rajahs, when the district which is now an unprofitable waste produced great revenues and when plenty, if not peace, blessed the valleys now overrun by dense jungle, and permanently tenanted only by the beasts of the forest. Captain Pearson shows (Report p 39,) that these traditions are fabulous for the most part, but, in confirmation of at least a modified form of them, we find occasionally a case like that presented by the Talooka Mowye, which he thus describes at p 29

'There are in this Talook some very remarkable remains of extensive irrigation, works of former days, there being a great number of tanks (said to be 120) round Mowye itself. These are, some of them, of considerable size, but they are generally much out of repair now. I was unable to obtain the least information as to who constructed the tanks, or when they were made. The people attribute them to Rajah Bheem, a fabulous personage, whose "lat" I saw at Bheemlat. But there is in the jungle near Mowye what the people take to be a fort, but which seems to be nothing more than a mound of earth and burnt bricks, fifty or sixty feet in diameter and twenty or twenty five feet in height. There are several large masses of stone lying about, and it struck me as being something similar to the Buddhist Topes at Sanchee near Bhilsa. If I am correct in my surmise, it is possible that the tanks were of the same date as the mounds here referred to, and that they were constructed by the Buddhists at a very distant period. moreover, I think that in Ceylon there are enormous irrigation works, now fallen into ruin, which were constructed by the

'Buddhists in former ages, and which would seem to point to a similar origin for these.' As to the date and origin of these tanks and mounds it would obviously be impossible for us to offer any opinion—the subject is not without interest from the point of view of the antiquarian—to us it only presents itself as part of the wider question above mentioned, namely the ancient civilization of the Gonds. It may have been a natural, but it is certainly a very hasty conclusion to arrive at, that, because these poor savages are now the sole inhabitants of districts where those ruins lie, they therefore erected the buildings of which the mounds prove the former existence, or that if they did build them, that fact can be taken as any proof of their having formerly attained a much higher state of civilization.

It is quite certain that formerly, (as is now the case in some neighbouring districts,) Hindus of the Baghel, Rajput, and Brahmin castes, established themselves in many parts of the Gond country, not as colonists in the ordinary sense, but as a kind of feudal chiefs. Such were the so called Gond Rajahs; such were also the freebooters who from being the terror of the traveller, became as we have before described, the pensioned protectors of the mountain roads. Ruled by these men of another race, the Gonds once no doubt, held a political position which they have long lost; they were respected, or at least feared by their neighbours, wealth was accumulated, and such structures as these tanks and mounds erected. But as to the Gonds themselves, it would be, we think, gratuitous to assume that any thing which can be justly called civilization had progressed to any considerable extent among them—their social condition may have been just as low as it is now, and, relatively to their alien lords, just as degraded as at present—their manners and customs, their religious rites, their ideas on such subjects as property, marriages, inheritance, personal liberty, all, in short, which goes to make up our idea of what is called civilization, may have been just what we find them, and thus, instead of considering the poor Gond as the degraded descendant of the men who built the tanks, and mounds, we are led to the conclusion that the real constructors of these and other monuments of the former existence of a higher civilization in Gondwand, were Hindus or Buddhists, belonging to the higher race—that race which in the Hindustan of our times represents the highest civilization to which the Hindu population has ever reached, and to which it probably attained even before the Bhilsa topos were thought of. Among the other monuments left, of the state of things to which we allude, the most striking are no doubt the hill forts so numerous

within our area the position in which some of these remarkable ruins are found, suggest that they mark the site of castles and watch towers, created by the inhabitants of the plains, as defence against the predatory raids of their dangerous neighbours of the hill country but by far the greater number of them were unquestionably the strong holds of the robber chiefs themselves, built to facilitate their forays and protect themselves and their ill-gotten spoil

Saoligurh, Baoigurh, Jamgurh, Asseer, Bandugurh and countless others, are perched on the summit of some naturally almost inaccessible eminence, very little artificial assistance made the one only possible approach easily defensible by a handful of men against a host of assailants, one or more tanks according to the requirements of the garrison completed the arrangements. Permanent buildings were not as a rule erected inside, in most cases one such is found, though sometimes the ruins prove the former existence of rather ambitious structures. One purpose which all these forts most probably served, and for which perhaps they were most frequently used, was as places of refuge in times of danger they were the secure asylums to which the families and the treasures of their owners could be conveyed in the day of trouble. Legends of buried treasure are almost universally connected with them, and, indeed, with every probability of truth, if we remember that the habit of thus disposing of precious things, is, even now, universal in Hindustan, and that such places as these forts would naturally be favorite depositories. To justify the hopes of the treasure seekers we have only to suppose what must have not unfrequently happened, namely a successful surprise on the fort and a change of masters by a *coup de main*.

The stories which are still to be heard in connection with these forts, and with the wild passes of the hills, furnish a romance. The names of Jeswunt Rao, Amol Rao, Dowlut Rao, and other warriors of the houses of Holkar, are still remembered here, the Bheel and Pariahs furnish many a subject to the story teller, and the campaigns of the years 1857-58 have no doubt added their quota. It was however prior to those days of accursed memory, that the writer of these pages used to listen to long-winded tales of Sir J. Malcolm's campaigns, and there is no doubt, but that in the hands of a more zealous and intelligent collector the field would have yielded if not a rich harvest, at least plentiful gleanings. Alas! the Homer or the Walter Scott of Gondwana is still a coming man, and the heroes of these hills, must still remain content to share the silent glories of those brave men, who, as we are told, fought 'before Agamemnon!'

Many a sudden onslaught, well contested fight, and long sustained chase has been witnessed by these gorges and ravines; and the passes, through which communication was kept up between the Neibudda valley and the Deccan, would be found prolific in traditional records. These passes were frequently of great strategic importance and were always important commercially. They were dreaded by the unhappy trader of by-gone days there he was mulcted of black-mail by the lazy lords of the hills. This was, we believe his fate until the Ghatwals, before alluded to, became wealthy pensioners, and, at least partially, abstained from the plunder and murder, which their idle dissipated descendants still bemoan as the noblest feature in their peculiar conception of the 'good old times'.

Before leaving this portion of our subject, which in our hands has assumed an aspect half antiquarian, half warlike, we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of presenting the reader with a more detailed sketch of one hill fort, as a specimen of the rest. One of our Manuscript Reports will furnish the materials, and the place we select is rather a favorable type of its class, for it is still what they all were, namely the strong-hold of a Hindu chief, who rules a considerable population of the hill tribes. It is still garrisoned by his ragamuffin sepoy, and is the place of safety of the females of his family and the treasures of his *Toshakhana*. Bandugurh may indeed claim to be one of the most ancient, one of the most famous, and, perhaps, the most mysterious of all the hill forts of India, at least, of all this part of Hindustan. It is situated in a wild hilly country covered with thick jungle, and itself sits on the summit of a grand mass of rocks, which towers several hundred feet above the highest peaks around. The great Akbar was born, history says, in a village near Bandu, and its approaches are still kept sacred from the eye of the Feringhi.

As we saw, among the old records of the Quartermaster General's office of the Sagur Division, some accounts of Bandu, compiled from the reports of the Hurkars of the department, the palpable exaggerations of which at all events attested the vigilance with which prying curiosity was kept from too close inspection, and the scanty information even now possessed by the political officers of the adjoining provinces, especially if combined with the impossible caricature inserted, as a representation of Bandu, on the Indian Atlas sheet, by some highly imaginative typographer, does not, we venture to think, go far to correct, or even materially modify the Munchausen-like stories

told about the place by the Rajah's people these stories state it to be not only a virgin fortress, but absolutely impregnable, it is said, to be surrounded on all sides by a morass (daldal) deep enough at the driest season to be impassable by elephants, the only means of crossing which (an artificial causeway of stone always hidden by the water) is kept a profound secret besides which, the approaches to this causeway from the land side, defended by fortified buildings, which in their turn, as well as the whole of the causeway itself, are commanded by the guns on Bandu. The garrison is asserted to be always immensely numerous and fully equipped, provisions and ammunition in quantities always in store, and the supply of water quite inexhaustible. When numbers and quantities come to be given in figures, these always assume proportions worthy of Rabelais himself.

Local tradition, moreover, states, that Bandu was once the highest hill in all Hindustan, if not in the world, overtopping the loftiest peaks of the Himalaya so high indeed, that the lamp of Ram placed thereon was visible in Ceylon. To deprive the island hero of whatever advantage he was supposed to have been derivable from the sight, his great rival one day, by the advice of Luchmee, placed his hand on Bandu, and pressed it down to its present level, in doing which he caused the fosse or depression all round which forms the existing marsh, whose unfathomable depth corresponds to the vastness of the displacement above.*

In addition to the above myth, tradition tells us, that, within the historic times, Bandu once sustained a twelve years siege. Some illustrious warrior invested the fortress, and having eaten a mango on the day of the first assault, and having put the stone thereof into the ground at his tent door, he kept up a strict blockade on the beleaguered place, until the seed had grown to a tree and he had eaten of its ripened fruit. For several of the later years of this siege the defenders were wholly dependent for food, on the crops raised by themselves in the enclosed space above, which, however, sufficed to supply the wants of numbers ample for the defence. The area is really considerable, and no doubt a very small number of resolute men could hold such a place.

* Should the learned reader detect in this bald version of a local legend, the tortured misrepresentation of some well known episode of classic Hindu mythology, the writer has only ignorance of the Hindu pantheon to plead as his apology. He gives the story as the author of the report heard it on the spot, only taking the liberty of condensing the ignominious, and mercilessly removing all the epithets and superlatives.

against almost any number of assailants, both sides being supposed to be armed and to fight, as those, who have hitherto defended and attacked Bandu, have fought and been armed. Whether the resources of modern warfare would materially modify the relative strength of attack and defence, and, if so, which side the advantage would rest, we are unfortunately unable to conjecture.

Bandu hill is formed of a tabular sand-tone, the very massive and thick beds of which are inclined with a gentle slope to the east or north-east, so that the flat surface at top also slopes in the same direction. This plateau ends on all sides in a vertical escarpment, which varies in height from 100 feet to 200 feet; the space at the summit is about a mile long from east to west, and less than half a mile broad from north to south, at its broadest part. At the western end, the total height above the daldal is a little more than 1000 feet, and a steep talus, overgrown with thick jungul, extends up to the foot of the vertical escarpment, which bounds the flat surface above. With regard to the composition of this escarpment we cannot speak positively. Our indefatigable explorer succeeded in making observations from all sides, the extreme jealousy with which a European is watched and kept at a distance, prevented those observations from being sufficiently accurate to warrant definite assertions on this point, and very nearly succeeded in baffling his attempt in making them, even to a partial extent. One thing however he did effect, namely, the exploration of the mysteries of the daldals. It needed an effort of some vigour, even for a tolerably stout pedestrian, fairly to outwalk the long-legged pyada sent to dog his steps, and prevent him from getting near the fort, this, however, he at last succeeded in doing, by taking him up and down hills and through the jungle, all the while obstinately declining every path, once well ahead of his watchful attendant, he made straight for the nearest point of Bandu hill, and soon reached the morass.

Most of the valleys within several miles to the south, are swampy, and it was evident on close inspection, that the daldals of Bandu were not a special or exceptional case, but, on the contrary, similar to those elsewhere seen, a familiar acquaintance with the general features of which at once suggested that, regard being had to the form of the ground, this one, as well as others like it, might probably be fordable, apparently without any better motive than a strong inclination to do what was so pertinaciously forbidden, our explorer at once walked into the water, and had, after a little poking about, the satisfaction of soon finding

himself at the other side of the unfathomable abyss without having wet his waistband, this too was in February, by no means the driest season. It must however be admitted, that the question of the impregnability of the place is not radically affected by this exposure of the exaggerations concerning the depth of the daldal, for the talus was found to be high, steep, and covered with dense jungle, and at the point reached, the escarpment above was utterly unscaleable.

When just now we stated that Bandu hill rises high above *all* those near it, we should have made an exception in favor of Banenia. This hill is generally treated as part of Bandu, and a line of defensible posts runs round it, it is, however, separated from the main mass by a glen, nearly as deep as the outer valley, and from its summit to the nearest point of that of Bandu, may be nearly a mile. It stands to the west of that hill, and although of about equal height, has only a very small flat space above, no daldal separates it from Bandu, or cuts it off from the ground to the west, no vertical escarpment renders its summit easily defensible like that of its neighbour, and its artificial defences seem by no means formidable. Whether assailants in possession of Banenia would have gained a position formidable to the defenders of the great fort, we cannot decide. It has been already stated that the summit surface of Bandu slopes to the east, it, of course, thus presents its highest portion to Banenia, and it would hence seem, that guns placed on the latter, could not be pointed so as to command, or sweep the surface of the former. On this subject we of course can offer no definite opinion, but leave the facts to speak for themselves.

Bandugurh and some one or two others of the hill forts of our area, of which we have taken it as a type, are nearly if not quite equal as fortresses to such places as Kalleenjur, Ramgurh &c which proved so troublesome during the mutiny campaign. But none of the former were, as far as we are aware, ever manned, or in any way made use of during the disturbances.

We stated at the commencement of this paper that portions of our jungle tract lay high above the sea level, and were especially adapted by climate and other conditions for the residence of Europeans. As a typical instance of such localities we select a place called Puchmurri, and shall now proceed to give a short account of it.

Near the culminating point of that range of hills, which, following a nearly east and west direction, runs along between the valleys of the Nerbudda and Taptee rivers, there is a little plateau, with an area of some five or six square miles, situated at

about 4000 feet above the sea. Its surface is formed of undulating grass land, dotted over with scattered groups of well grown trees, and on it stands a solitary Gond village, this is Puchmurri. The park-like aspect of the place, to which the smooth green turf and fine trees so largely contribute, is enhanced by the rugged beauty of the bold rocky masses, three of which rise in peaks each about 1000 feet above the plain itself, as well as by the deep ravines and dark gorges which bound it on three sides. The grassy slopes above are in fine contrast with these glens, formed as they are of bold rock bluffs and precipices, with forest glades alternating or rather mixed together, in the most picturesque confusion. The scenery which they present, and which indeed extends for many miles to the east, south, and west, is of surpassing beauty and variety. A great deal has of late been said and written on the subject of sanatoria, enough, perhaps, to render it a wearisome one to most readers, we hasten then to announce that there is, in the present instance, no need for alarm, inasmuch as we have nothing to say about sanatoria here. Puchmurri has, it is true, been reported on officially as a site for a sanatorium. We have seen several such reports, and have one of them before us this last, written by a gentleman with whose views we altogether agree, assumes that the climatal and other conditions which fit any place to be a sanatorium, properly so called, ought to offer the strongest attainable contrast to those of ordinary stations on the plains, and asserts that in his opinion Puchmurri does not meet such requirements. This is, we conceive, a just and important distinction to draw, for the real advantages presented by such a climate as this of Puchmurri, is not that it is capable of renovating the frame of a European, whose health has sunk under the debilitating influence of long residence in our Indian heat, but that the constitution of an European, permanently resident in such a place, would never need any renovation at all, any more than it would were he living in the south of Europe. There is an old proverb about prevention and cure, which it is, we presume, unnecessary to quote, in order to point the moral of these remarks.

Our reporter characterizes the climate of Puchmurri as having a general similarity to that of some of our best stations, such as Sagui. The very important superiority which he claims for the former consisting in a lower temperature at all seasons, cool nights throughout the year, and freedom from the extreme heat of April, May, and June these are considerations which we think may fairly be supposed of weight sufficient to give the place the strongest claims on the attention of Government. Nor need

Puchmurri rest its case on these alone, it has others to which we shall now revert

It has, been we believe, and we have heard still is in contemplation, to erect central India into a separate province, with a Lieutenant Governor, or chief commissioner of its own. Under this arrangement Nagpore would be joined to the Sagur and Nerbudda territories, and we may be permitted here to record our hope that the able and successful officer who has so long and so well managed the latter district, may be the first incumbent of the new dignities. Be the new governor, however, who he may, we beg to urge on his consideration the advantages, which Puchmurri presents as a site for his Sudder station

Besides its climate, which we submit is a consideration of incalculable importance, it has the advantage of being almost geometrically the centre of the new province, the following being in round numbers the distances at which the principal stations lie Sagur 100 miles to the north, Kamptec (Nagpore) 100 miles to the south, Hosungabad 80 miles to the west, Jubbulpore 90 miles to the east. Beitul on the south west, Chindwaria on the south east, Seoni and Nursingpore on the east, are all nearer to Puchmurri than the nearest of the above mentioned places, while Dumoh on the north east and Sehoie on the north west are about as far off as Sagur

Stationed on the healthful heights of so truly central a place as Puchmurri, it is evident that a compact body of European troops could command all parts of the surrounding district, with a greater economy of numbers, of labor, and of the risk of life than would be possible from any other point within the same area. The chief civil officer if stationed here, would be within the shortest practicable distance of the aggregate of his subordinates, which would, we presume, be considered a convenience, his courts of appeal would be at the point nearest the average majority of suitors, which would certainly be a public benefit, while that officer himself, and the staff of Europeans which must inevitably collect round the central administrative authority of a great province, as well as the British troops required for its security, would all enjoy in this fine climate a European health, and their mental as well as their physical vigour would be kept at a high standard

Puchmurri, moreover, is easily approached from the north, and a carriage road might very readily be made on that side. The ghats on the south and west are more difficult and could be made passable by wheels only at a considerable expense, while on the east we believe no ghat exists. Should there ever be a station

here, none, that we know of, will possess any thing like such advantages in the important matter of picnics, advantages which the climate will render available well nigh throughout the year. Then, among other attractions, there is the great annual Mela or fair, held just under the south escarpment, near enough to be easily visited, far enough off to be incapable of becoming a source of annoyance to the station. There are also the sacred caves, and holy places, from which the Puchmurri block of hills gets the name of Mahadeo, these might become objects of romantic interest, even to the ladies of the future station, if only the resident Byragis could be induced to condescend slightly to increase the amount of their wearing apparel. The grape vine and orange would no doubt flourish here, European vegetables would certainly thrive, at least as well as at Sagur and Jubbulpoie, and the immigrant malis would find abundance of soil for all that they could be required to furnish. One of the cheapest corn countries in Hindoostan lies within a few miles to the north, along the banks of the Nerbudda, and such supplies of live stock &c. as the Bundelas on that side did not furnish, would soon be supplied by the now hopelessly savage Gonds from the hills around.

We have described the plateau of Puchmurri as prettily wooded, and we trust that the first officer who may have authority in such matters, will levy a heavy fine for every tree felled, or establish such other regulations as shall succeed in protecting the timber, and that in allotting building sites, and laying out roads, he will make every effort to preserve the ornamental trees, for if every one is permitted to cut away the timber as may suit his fancy, one of the chief beauties of the place will be in considerable danger of being lost. Nor let the reader hastily suppose, that, in venturing to urge so apparently common-place a suggestion, we are fighting with a phantom or guarding against an imaginary risk. He would acquit us of the charge of fanciful nervousness were he ever to see that dreariest looking of all pleasant places, Chirra Poonjee. At the time of our visit to that finest climate of all our hill stations, most of the residents were enthusiastic gardeners, floriculture was a perfect rage. The mania was distinctly traceable to the then recent visit of doctors Hooker and Thomson, whose wonderful Rhododendrons, and beautiful air plants were, we must admit, well calculated to fire the enthusiasm for practical botany, which then animated the little station.

The most active of the amateurs, with a bitterness of regret with which we could fully sympathise, told us, that when first inhabited by Europeans, the little plain of Chirra, now perfectly

bare of vegetation, was well wooded, but that the gallant officer in charge, having some theoretical views on the subject of the insalubrity of jungle, and being withal of an energetic and practical turn, had eradicated every twig within reach since when, no one had succeeded in getting trees to grow again. My informant was himself painfully endeavouring to rear a few plants round his house, and he has, we believe, since succeeded, in spite of the two-fold discouragement of a bare slab of sandstone beneath, wherein his trees might strike root if they could, and a fall of 600 inches of rain per annum, to fertilize the unpromising footing on which they feebly clung. How it had fared with the indigenous vegetation we are unable to conjecture. This is no doubt an extreme case, but were Puchmurri to meet the fate of Chirra Poonjee, we believe that considerable difficulty might be experienced in replacing the groves which now adorn its grassy slopes.

We take leave of Puchmurri, with the wish rather than the hope, that it may shortly meet at the hands of the authorities the attention it undoubtedly deserves, confident that, if it should do so, its claims to become the site of the European head quarters of central India must be recognized as irresistible.

Thus far we have been occupied, first, with Bandugurh, which we took as a type of the hill forts, that form so characteristic a feature in that portion of the great jungle highlands which forms the subject of this paper, next, with Puchmurri, which may be considered a fair specimen of the general character of some of the culminating points of the highest ridges of the same wild country, and one instance of the great advantages which some of these present for the location of European military posts, and official colonies. We shall now proceed to give some account of a third place, which we select as an example of what forms a not inconsiderable aggregate portion of our whole area, of such places, namely, as, offering other and very different conditions from those described as obtaining at Puchmurri, are calculated to invite the European commercial settler. Of these Ummurkuntuk and parts of the Mundla district, will furnish a favorable case, and we shall have the advantage of again recurring to Captain Pearson's interesting Report. The following passages descriptive of the scenery and climate will give the reader a better idea of them, than we could hope to convey to him in our own words.

'The general character of the country between Mundla and the Rajahdhar ghat, is a series of elevated plateaux, rising one above the other gradually from the river to the line of hills

‘ which bound the plains of Raipore. These plateaux are separated from each other, by low lines of ghats covered with thick jungle, the plateaux themselves being, for the most part, open prairies covered with long grass, and watered by numerous streams * * * * In April all these rivulets contain streams of running water, and I was told by the natives that they never run dry, even in the hottest seasons. As a greater elevation is reached, the country becomes more hilly, and vast forests of Sarrye tree are met with. Here the climate is excellent, and scenery of a description which India so seldom affords, of hill and vale studded with magnificent timber, and every variety of landscape, delight the eye’ p 1-2

Again, speaking of part of the same district, he tells us, that ‘ from the elevation the nights are always cool, indeed dew falls almost every night even in the hottest months, and the foliage is consequently always green, and the growing grass always springing. This at the present time (April) forms splendid grazing lands for large herds of cattle’ p 3. Of Ummurkuntuk itself he thus writes

‘ The climate appeared to me to be singularly delightful, during the short time I was there. I can scarcely imagine, and have seldom experienced any thing more grateful after the hot and violent winds on the plains below, than the mild soft balmy feeling of the air up here in the mornings and evenings at this season (April—May), while the nights, though by no means so cold as in the valleys below, are yet quite sufficiently cool to ensure an invigorating rest. The heat in the day time was never in the least oppressive * * * and although the mean temperature of Ummurkuntuk is somewhat higher than the average of the plain immediately below it, yet the variation was 10° less —

‘ The scenery on the plateau is not generally of a striking character, but there is a fine view to the south over Sumnee, as well as east from the bluff which overlooks the plains towards Suguja. The ravine at Kuppaldhara, where the Nerbudda falls over a basaltic cliff somewhat under 100 feet high, is very wild and well worth visiting, as also is the valley of the Johilla, on the further side of the plateau. But the green grass, and green woods in the Sone Bhudder, and some of the smaller valleys, are what appeared most gratifying and refreshing to my eyes’ p 13-14

It would be easy to multiply descriptions taken from the Report of many parts of the Māndla district, the whole of which is full of picturesque variety. The height above the sea varies

from 1400 feet, to 3600 feet, then the Runjur valley is 1400 and up to 2000; Hallar and Bormeyr from 1800 up to 2200, and the valleys of Kurmeyr and Seoni, from 2500 up to 2800. The plateau of Ummukuntuk is set down at 3600, some hills rising a few hundred feet above it. Of the general agricultural capabilities of the district, the reporter has the highest opinion: the valleys are all of the richest black earth, and fine fertile soil spreads up into every glen, wide enough to afford a flat surface whereon it could rest, and his praises of the abundance of running water and the fresh greenness of the grass frequently recur. Again, speaking farther of the Ummukuntuk plateau, he says, 'the soil is every where of a rich black description, * * * all that portion of it lying north of the Nerbudda has been recently given to the Rewah Rajah, but the south bank is still British territory. It is well sheltered and has a gentle slope down to the river, and is composed of rich black soil: it appears to me to offer a very favorable situation in case it was desired to try as an experiment whether the tea plant would thrive in these hills.'

In this plateau of Ummukuntuk the Nerbudda river rises — For so large a stream it does not make by any means a striking entry into the world. For a considerable distance above the temples, there are numbers of puddles, any one of which might stand for the source of the river. But at the one which does duty for the source, there is a stone tank about thirty feet square, in a corner of which is a small temple in which the Bramans state the spring exists. There appears, however, no visible sign of it. For some distance below the tank, the water is dammed up into biggish puddles by small mud banks, and the Byragis and other disreputable parties who frequent the place seem to pass the greater portion of their time in drinking the water.

It is a curious comment on the peculiar view of British rule in India, which circumstances can sometimes force on the consideration of even the bigoted and degraded representatives of the Hindu religious world, that these 'disreputable parties,' as our reporter irreverently calls the holy guardians of this sacred place, are 'loud and bitter in their groans against the British Government, for having made Ummukuntuk over to the Rewah Rajah, who, they state, will make them disgorge part of the profits, which, they derive from pilgrims who visit the shrine, and of which, under our government, they derive the whole benefit.'

The valley of Lumnee is one of the finest in the district, it forms a sub-Talook of Mundla, and contains about 100 square

miles 'It is situate at the extreme eastern corner of the district, 'at the south side of, and beyond the principal range. It 'is like a basin, lying half way down the ghats on the further 'side, and, as it were, surrounded by them, the promontories of 'Chowradadun and Ummukuntuk towering some 1500 feet above 'it to the north, and another broken portion of the range dividing 'it from the Kalacotie plain, which lies below it to the south. 'Except Lamuce itself, and two or three small Bygan villages, 'there are no inhabitants in the valley but it is full of dense 'jungle, and in the rainy season is represented as a great place 'of resort for all kinds of wild animals especially wild buffaloes 'and elephants. The elevation of the valley is about 1000 feet 'above the sea, * * * the soil appears to be very rich, and 'it is well watered by numerous streams, and I think it probable 'that it would prove, if cleared of jungle, an exceedingly desirable 'site for coffee cultivation' p. 15

The climate of all that part of the country has got a very bad reputation, fostered, as Captain Pearson tells us, by the whole race of subordinate government employes, who dislike being sent out so far into the jungles. But besides this, the bad character of the place has gained credit among Europeans, in consequence of the sad fate of some German missionaries, who were some years since established at a place near Karungeah, 10 miles west of Ummukuntuk, by Major Macleod, to form the nucleus of a colony, three out of five of them died here is Captain Pearson's account of them

'The situation chosen was in all respects save one, excellent, 'about 2700 feet above the sea, four miles south of the Neruluddie, overlooking a fine plain of rich soil stretching 'along the river. But strange to say, in a country so abundantly 'traversed by numerous streams of excellent water, 'these people seem to have pitched on a spot, where they were 'full two miles distant from the nearest stream of running water, 'and their entire dependance for this most necessary article, was 'on a wretched little circular tank of stagnant muddy liquid, 'which would be quite sufficient to poison any one who drank it'

But besides this fatal error, in itself abundantly sufficient to account for all their misfortunes, these ill starred strangers were surprised by the rains before they had completed their bungalows, and thus, 'with no proper house over their head, with bad food 'and no proper water, added to the cold, which, at that season, is 'no doubt considerable here, they must have got bowel complaints, which, far away from medical aid, must have got 'worse and worse, at last three of them died, and thus most

'unfortunately, but most unjustly, this climate got into a bad 'repute' p 17

Captain Pearson again and again in the Report, gives it as his opinion, that the fears entertained of the salubrity of the climate are utterly unfounded, and insists, that if sites be judiciously selected, the jungle, where there is any too near, cleared away, and common attention paid to shelter, and the water supply it will prove perfectly healthy, and he, more than once, strongly urges the expediency of building some houses on one or more of the higher uplands, to which invalid soldiers from Jubbulpore might be sent for change of air. Of the climate of the upper Lamnnee valley he gives the following description 'In April and May the nights were always cool, generally calm, during the first half of April a cool east wind prevailed during the first half of the day when it veered round to the north west, and blew sometimes hot and strong during the afternoon. Later in the month the east wind ceased, and a breeze blew gently and cool from the northward in the mornings, but about 11 A.M. the wind set in with violent gusts, from the west and north west, accompanied by clouds and heat, threatening rain, but it cleared toward sunset and became calm and pleasant, from October to February the frosts are very severe, the ground being covered with a white coat of hoar frost, and this is one of the reasons why I think Lamnnee, which is lower and more sheltered, would answer better for plantations than the upland country, at all events this is a point that should be practically ascertained, dew certainly falls every night over the uplands, on some nights more, on some less, differing much according to the locality, the heaviest falls being in the narrow valleys, to the dew of course must be attributed the verdure of both grass and trees on the plateau.'

These quotations will have given some idea of the country and of its climate, but they do great injustice to the subject, and still greater injustice to the admirable sketches contained in the Report of which they form part, and to which we once more beg to refer the reader for fuller details.

The Mundla district has long enjoyed unenviable notoriety as one of the worst in all India for tigers. To them indeed has been attributed the depopulation of whole Talooks. A party of men (no one ever thinks of going alone) passing along the most frequented roads, must be pretty numerous, the men must keep their cattle, if they have any, close together, they must shout as they go along, and straggling, be the straggler man or beast, is considered fatal. Both men and cattle are stated frequently to be carried away at midday from the middle of the villages.

and so serious did these ravages appear to the authorities, that the commissioner of the Sagar and Nerbudda territories some years since, sought and obtained the sanction of Government for the appointment of two officers, who were to make systematic war on the Mundla tigers, the important matter of pay and allowances was settled, elephants, beaters, and native shikaris arranged for, the expedition organized and actually started. It was found, however, that nothing commensurate with the trouble the expense, or the grandeur of the preparations, could in this manner be effected. This district may for hunting purposes, be considered as one vast jungle, out of which of course no wild animal could be beaten by any conceivable number of elephants or coolies, so that the old native plan of the *gana* and *machan* was the only one by which a shot could be obtained. We may explain, that this consists in sitting up at night in ambush, near the carcass of a beast killed by a tiger, who always returns, after a few hours interval, to gorge on his prey. A plan which can be tried only about the full moon, with any chance of success.

Now although many people have no doubt been killed by tigers in Mundla, the reports on which the above account is based, were proved by Captain Pearson to be gross exaggerations. After travelling back wards and forwards through the length and breadth of the country, he tells us at p. 30, that he can safely account the tigers 'of having any thing whatever to do with the depopulation of the district.' Tigers of course there are, and they sometimes do mischief, but they 'certainly are not worse than the Seoni or Berul,' districts to the west, where no one has ever pretended that they interfered with the question of population. Further on he sums up thus, 'the Gonds and Bygars are continually prowling about, in a perfectly heedless way. They are in the densest jungle, with only an axe on their shoulders, and, of course, they sometimes get knocked over, but I only came across three or four places in the district where there was a regular '*Leidut*,' as it is called, and although a Gond village may perhaps be deserted on this account, it must be remembered, that it does not take much to make a Gond change his location, as they seldom if ever stop in one village over three years.' Our own experience in the adjoining districts goes to confirm every statement here made. The way in which these jungle men pass most of their time is well described as heedless prowling, they really wander about very much in the manner of wild beasts, without object or intention, alone or in couples, the only exception to their listlessness being, when, with their eternal hatchet, they chop at and wantonly disfigure,

or if unusually actively inclined, cut down altogether, the most promising young trees they can find. It rots where it falls, and not once in a hundred times do they make any use whatever of even a leaf. But if it is not a matter of surprise that these fellows sometimes get knocked over, how much less need we wonder at the fate of the Bhat, or conjuror, who Captain Pearson tells us, was supposed to possess the power of shutting up tigers' mouths, when, he goes on to say that, he 'got himself devoured' 'one day while practising his dangerous calling'. On the whole perhaps, after hearing what our reporter has to tell us, of the modifications which we must apply to the old stories, the reputation for tigers may prove rather an attraction than otherwise to the European.

On the subject of European colonization the Report treats at some length, and contains information to which, at no distant period, attention will we believe, be most seriously directed. The reporter estimates the land available for agricultural purposes, in that part of Mundla which lies south of the Nerbudda, at 1350 square miles *for the best land*. This first quality land is thus distributed: 300 square miles in the plateau immediately below Ummunkuntuk, about 300 square miles round Rajgiri Bihra, of which part of Mundla we shall extract a short notice from the Report presently; the remaining 750 square miles are distributed among the minor valleys, scattered at various levels throughout the mountain ranges, all over the district, and these patches vary in area from 1 or 5, to 20 and 30 square miles in each valley. (see page 37)

The best land for agriculture would also be best adapted to pasturage, and as the whole district is estimated to contain 4106 square miles, there remain 2756 square miles, which are principally slopes and hill sides covered with forest jungle.

Besides his suggestions for tea, coffee and cotton planting, in special localities, the reporter informs us that wheat, barley, chenna, and mussoori grow luxuriantly with a minimum of cultivation, and that flax-growing has been most successful in the few places where it has been tried. He has no doubt but that oats would grow admirably, and that from the abundance of the supply of water, and the richness of the soil, sugar would prove a very profitable crop: rice as requiring less labour in the cultivation, and kodon and kootkee requiring none at all, are now the favorite crops. He dwells on the extraordinary facilities for irrigation, which he believes a small expenditure would make very profitable, he indicates the forests as a source of profit not only for their timber, but their gums and lac. he believes non

could in some places be profitably worked, not on a great scale for exportation, but so as to supply all local requirements, even when these should be vastly increased. But before all these, he insists that the European settler should first of all direct his efforts to cattle-breeding, and the rearing of sheep, poultry, and horses. As we shall have to return to this subject, we shall leave further remarks until then, and add one more suggestive quotation from the Report, selected as descriptive of one of the most favorable spots in the district, for the hopes of the European colonist. It refers to Rajgur Bichia above mentioned. 'The southern portion of the valley south of Bichia, is most excellent, and would form a most desirable settlement for any European who wished to take a grant of land in Mundla, the locality about Munglee is the one which seems to me the best. It is admirably supplied with streams of running water, which is also everywhere near the surface, the soil is excellent, the climate, I think, perfectly healthy, although on this subject I would of course, speak somewhat diffidently. There is a broad belt of Saul forest which extends along the north west end of the valley for several miles, and which appeared to me to have the effect of cooling the hot winds at this season (April, May), as while west of this belt they blow fiercely, I never felt a warm blast to the leeward of it * * * there is abundance of good timber in every direction, and there is not a single landed proprietor in the neighbourhood to interfere with * * * between Bichia and Rajahdhar, which is certainly one of the finest portions of the Mundla district, there are scarcely half a dozen villages all the way up the valley for 30 miles. Another advantage to the settler would be that he would be 50 or 60 miles nearer Mundla, and, consequently, to a market for his produce, than at Pertabgurh or Lumnee. The country is perfectly lovely at this season along the river, and the clumps of Sanye trees, interspersed with young green grass give it quite a park-like appearance, while herds of red deer, basking in the morning and evening sun, add much to the beauty of the scenery * * * The road from Jubbulpore to Raepore passes by Bichia, and up this valley to Rajahdhar, and it is a very important line of communication in a military point of view, and likely to become so commercially.'

Finally, as evidence of the general fertility of the country, and of the extreme facility with which, almost without cultivation, the fruits of the earth can be obtained 'I will only mention, that as soon as my regiment arrived at the foot of the Rajahdhar

'ghat, in April 1858, we found rice, wheat, dhall, and chenna, all selling for 100 seers the rupee, measured out in heaped up baskets, and at this very time the regiment and all its camp followers were supplied, at an enormous expense, with every seer of flour by the commissariat'—p 8

We can add of our personal knowledge, that, in another part of the district, three maunds of jhow were in May 1861, (this famine year to wit) sold for the rupee

With the above quotation we may close our description of the facilities which may be expected in the prosecution of some scheme of European colonization in the Mundla district

The establishment of a small colony under the protection of Government, and managed by a salaried official, has been suggested, as also military colonization, on the system of the Hungarian 'Grenz Regiment'. We have to confess our ignorance of the organization or duties of this last mentioned body, but even, without knowing any thing of the advantages which it possibly might present if we only knew them, faith in first principles is, for once, strong enough to prejudice us against that, among all such plans, and we heartily concur in Captain Pearson's opinion, that the colonization of Mundla had best be left to private enterprise

No sooner, however, do we turn the shield, bring its reverse side before us, and look closely at the picture, hitherto so attractive, from a different point of view, than difficulties and obstacles begin at once to appear. For instance, the extraordinary cheapness of the ordinary staple food, which we have above brought forward to prove the fertility and productiveness of the soil, undoubtedly also proves the absence of all means by which such produce could find its way out of the country, so as to reach some considerable market,—proves in fact the want of roads, a difficulty and obstacle in the way of European colonization, on which, however important, it would be tedious for us to dwell; for it is, perhaps, the very first to strike every observer, be he painstaking and impartial, or superficial and partisan, and it has, not unjustly, been urged on the attention of government with the most wearisome iteration. Here is the aspect which it assumes in Captain Pearson's Report, and we need not say, that, to any one interested in the country, and anxious for its improvement, it is both sad and irritating to find such a statement as this.

'The road from Jubbulpore to the eastern coast of India, lies through Mundla and over the Michael range to Raepore and thence through Sumbulpore to Cuttack. The present road, as noted in all government Maps and Routes, passes the ghats

' at Rajahdhai, but the bulk of the traffic goes by Chilpee, four miles west of the former, the reason being that the Rajahdhai ghat, on account of the steepness of the ascents and descents, is exceedingly difficult for wheeled carriages, while the Chilpee ghat, although in its primitive condition, is easily passable both by animals and carriages' Appendix B p 48. And again, 'The road over the Rajahdhai ghat could not be made fit for wheeled carriages for less than Rs 30,000 and a large sum nearly equal to that, has already been expended, though without any benefit on account of the wrong line having been adopted, the ascent being one in five, or one in six'—p 7

That is to say, in the case of a great road, not only important to this district, but to the empire, on which government has expended large sums, the money has been so squandered by the imbecility of the officer entrusted with the duty of improving the means of communication, that wheeled carriages have to avoid the road he has seen fit to make, and travel by an old track. Here then, as indeed everywhere else in British India, the want of roads will prove one great stumbling block in the path of the European settler. It is however removable, and in this part of the country without great cost or trouble a road from Rajahdhar to Mundla and on to Jubbulpore, is already in an advanced state, and half a dozen bridges would render it passable for carts at all seasons branch roads from it would not be costly or difficult of construction. Save at the ghats, there is nothing to render them so.

The next difficulty in the way of European Colonization, is of a far more serious nature than the want of roads. We shall introduce it to the reader by another quotation from the Report. At page 5, speaking of the district generally, Captain Pearson writes thus 'Here, at all events, exist none of the chief objections to European settlers, as there could be no interference with the rights of native landholders, and no disputes could arise about the crops, for there are no cultivators to dispute with at the same time it would be entirely useless for any to attempt it, (that is colonization,) who have not considerable capital at their disposal, for it would be three or four years before the settlers could hope to be independent of external assistance, houses would have to be built, and without capital good stock for breeding purposes could not be procured' And, in continuation, he concludes by saying, that he is convinced the capabilities of the district are such that they need only to be known in order to attract to the enterprise, 'persons of capital and stability, sufficient not only to take in hand, but to succeed in carrying

'out with profit such a plan,' namely European colonization of Mundla by private enterprise

There appeared in the Allahabad Government Gazette, dated 29th September 1860, a set of Rules, to regulate the conditions on which the authorities were prepared to assign grants of waste lands, in the northwest provinces, to European applicants for such grants. A comparison of these rules with some passages of Captain Pearson's Report, suggests some very curious reflections. He has just told us, that it would be entirely useless for any European to attempt profitable farming in Mundla, unless he could command considerable capital, besides which statement has lately gone the rounds of the Indian papers, to the effect, that a non-commissioned officer, returning honorably, we believe, from the service, applied to Government for a small grant of land, that the grant was refused, the highest authority giving as the reason of the refusal, that successful management of land in India by Europeans, could only be hoped for from men of capital. Now the rules trenchantly exclude all men of capital first, by limiting each grant to, we believe, 5000 acres, next by limiting the leases to short periods. We do not assert, nor do we believe that Government is under any moral obligation to permit land to be purchased in fee simple, and in large lots, but it is difficult to escape the conviction, in the face of this Report, and of the minute above alluded to, that these rules were passed with the deliberate intention of excluding Europeans from Mundla, for to accept the other alternative seems utterly irrational, namely, that the framers of the rules could suppose men of capital would take small patches of land on short leases.

Nor is this alternative left simply. We have stated it. Captain Pearson tells us, that 'the breeding of cattle, sheep, poultry and horses seems to be the first thing to set about with a prospect of profit, and to be especially desirable, not only on account of the singular advantages which the district affords, for carrying it out, but also because it would involve less expense in the introduction of foreign labor at the outset, as the Gonds would be much more adapted to the more desultory work of looking after poultry, cattle &c, than to regular labor, and would take to it more naturally'—pp. 23-24. At p. 5. above quoted, it may be remembered that he says, three or four years must elapse before the settler could hope to be able to depend on his farm produce as his sole resource, meanwhile he would reap some immediate profit from his cattle, would feel his way, and find by painful experiment, with no doubt cost and loss, how he could best direct his future operations. He would have some chance by

thus commencing, of conciliating the Gonds, an all-important consideration as we have seen, and, might, perhaps, in these preliminary three or four years, lay a sound foundation for future success, if permitted to follow Captain Pearson's judicious advice, advice, be it remarked, which is recommended to his notice in the rules themselves, which rules nevertheless, lest some man of capital should perchance be found, mad enough to take one of their small grants at a short lease, decree that such grantee shall forfeit every acre not brought under tillage in two years

Can the framers have thought any further impediment required? But however some capitalist of indomitable energy, undaunted by the above disabilities, should present himself, the Government will be obliged to him by the announcement, that no land will be conceded to a European, until the district shall have been surveyed and mapped. He may amuse himself meanwhile with conjectures as to when this is likely to be

To complete the forbidding aspect of this side of the picture, we have only to add, that, prior to the promulgation of the rules, a company, we believe, proposed to Government to take up a large portion of the Mundla district on lease. They offered, if we are rightly informed, to pay as rent, a far larger sum than has ever been realized as revenue, from the same area, the revenue having always been so small as to represent but a fraction of even the slight cost of administration. Of the causes assigned for the rejection of this offer, we know nothing, it is of course amply explained in the rules.

We have above, perhaps indiscreetly, spoken of the motives of the framers of the rules. Their motives are of course entirely beside the question and with them we can have nothing whatever to do. We should, instead, have said, that the necessary result of these rules will be to exclude European settlers from Mundla, and from all those parts of our great jungle highland districts similarly circumstanced, and of which we have taken Mundla as a type. This we presume no one will be found to question, nor can it be denied that these rules may justly be considered, not as difficulties to the way of European colonization under such circumstances, but as an absolute and final prohibition of all attempts at its realization.

Accepting this view of the case, it will now only be necessary to write down the word COTTON in capital letters, in order to suggest to the mind of the reader a long string of reflections, which rise naturally in connection with the subject before us. It is beyond our province to determine, and no part of our intention

to discuss whether the action of European enterprise, ought, in the matter of Indian cotton, to be strictly limited to the encouragement of an increased production in districts already growing it, or to be allowed to extend to attempts at cotton planting by Europeans themselves it is enough for us to rest assured, that whichever of these plans obtains the largest acceptance, or is best calculated to ensure ultimate success, both will, ere long, be pretty extensively tried and we may, moreover, be pretty sure that, although the greatest and most important results, may perhaps be looked for from the indirect influence of European capital, in stimulating the production of cotton in Hindustan, yet cotton planting by Europeans themselves is certain to spread, and that, whether for good or for evil, its influence on the future of British power in the country will be serious. Government has, moreover, again and again announced its intention to encourage the influx of European capital and enterprise, and its wish to do all in its power to aid, as well as to lead the way in 'developing the resources of the country,' has done so indeed, until such phrases, as that which we have just placed in inverted commas, have taken rank among the stereotyped common-places of public documents.

Here then, we have on the one side both a real necessity, and a popular cry in favor of English settling in Hindustan, which the Government echoes, and promises to satisfy. On the other, we have these districts of Mundla and the like, presenting every facility for a trial of the experiment under exceptionally favorable circumstances, a fertile soil, a climate suitable in every way, no native landholders to interfere with, and we find the authorities acting thus,—they recommend, as trustworthy in all respects, this Report for the information of intending settlers, so far they are certainly right, but when it tells the would-be-colonist that considerable capital is absolutely necessary to his success, they meet him with a rule which decrees that he can have only a few acres, and those at a short lease,—when it tells him that his best chance is cattle breeding, and that three or four years must elapse before he can hope to get firm hold on his somewhat difficult position, they meet him with a rule which provides, that he may be ejected out of every acre which he has not brought under the plough within two. In fine, they seem to act just as if it had been their intention to use the valuable information before them, for the sole purpose of contriving expedients for his total exclusion.

This we believe to be, as far as it goes, a perfectly fair statement of the case; but, like most questions, this one has two sides.

for even taking for granted, that the authorities have deliberately determined to exclude Europeans from such districts as Mundla, it need not therefore follow, that they had no good reason for their decision, or supposing that their reasons, whatever they may be, should prove such as would not satisfy us, as to the justice and expediency of that decision, it is evident that they nevertheless may have produced honest conviction in the minds of the framers of the rules. This last we conceive to be the state of the case in the present instance, and we shall presently point out, what we believe to be the consideration which had weight with the authorities in this matter. Government is loudly charged with inconsistency—worse still, with wilful deception, in first promising to aid and encourage the European settlers, and then issuing such rules as those above mentioned. Now we mentally acquit the accused of the latter charge, and this is how we explain the existence of the inconsistency. Unquestionably, if we could pry into the secret cogitations of the ruler of British India, we should find, that the ultimate analysis of his profoundest meditations on the very greatest questions of state policy, would result in two exceedingly common-place rules of conduct, between which, in last resort, his choice is practically limited. They may be thus stated—firstly to protect all his subjects from all wrong of all kinds, and secondly to make India pay. Crude, unphilosophical, and unstatesmanlike as these maxims look, in the rough dress of our untaught phraseology, we believe they will be found to contain the leading ideas of our rulers, and, if so, it will not be denied that they must come not unfrequently into real; or apparent collision. On such occasions, there must after all be no small difficulty in practically adjusting their relative claims to authority, and this difficulty must be enormously increased, when pressure from without disturbs the normal equilibrium of the balance, and extraneous influences force irrelevant matter into the scales. It must sometimes happen, that one of our maxims, for the moment, attains undue prominence, acts with more than its legitimate weight, and gets a temporary lead. Our plea is that it is impossible to conceive that this should not sometimes occur, and that it offers a simple and natural explanation of apparent inconsistencies, without forcing us to resort to, what we confess we consider, the somewhat extravagant alternative of supposing, that a batch of gentlemen, who, quite irrespective of their official position, we should think it an honor to know, and whose word in private we should never think of doubting, met together to put on paper a gratuitous and unnecessary lie. We find it much easier to believe, that they

and their master suffered the common fate of inferior humanity, and honestly wavered, under the influence of contending motives and contradictory rules of conduct. Let us now turn to the Report and see what light it throws on this part of the subject.

As Captain Pearson's knowledge of the country and of its inhabitants increased, and in direct proportion to the amount of the information which he gradually accumulated of the general condition of the district, a curious change seems to have come over his views, on the subject of the means best suited to bring about a better state of things. What he found was simply the shadow of a revenue paid by a district, in which 'depopulation' is continually progressing,' and at page 5 he writes thus. 'It is difficult to say at once, what means would best succeed for repopulating this fine district, and developing its resources, *but it must be taken for granted, that no plan will be of any avail for that purpose, unless one or more European settlers, of some sort, go and take up their permanent abode there*' at the very end of the Report, page 39, he says, 'I can not help feeling *that the chief dependence for improving the district, must be placed in the hope of being able to induce respectable natives, to come up from the Nagpore country and settle here*' The italics are ours, and indicate the passages showing the change above alluded to, it is, as will be seen, thorough and complete. The beau idéal of the Indian officials, is, we believe, the 'respectable native,' as his *bête noir*, unquestionably, is the 'enterprising European' nor could any unprejudiced observer wonder at the preference. The former is courteous, conciliating, and above all respectful, he has the most heartfelt admiration of the laws, the courts and the officials, which he daily finds so useful in grinding his dependents down to their fitting position of abject submission. the other is too often a 'sad dog', frequently, alas, the reverse of courteous, rarely conciliating, and very seldom indeed respectful, he has, moreover, the most cordial abhorrence of the laws, the courts and the officials, which daily spoil his temper, and waste his time, and his money. Considering these things, had this Report been the work of the Chief Commissioner of the district, within which its subject lies, or of one of his deputies, we should have been prepared for the passage last quoted as natural and justifiable. But there is nothing in Captain Pearson's Report which can suggest the suspicion, that he arrived at his conclusions by any other process than the impartial examination of *bonâ fide* evidence, or that he was swayed by foregone conclusions and prejudices.

The change illustrated by the two quotations above was a gradual one his distrust in the certainty of the benefit derivable from European colonization soon appears to have suggested itself, for, very soon after the passage, where this certainty is confidently declared, he tells us, that 'too much care could not be exercised before making any grant, to ascertain that any person who was willing to make the trial, was in every way fit for it, and had the necessary capabilities and qualifications to carry it out successfully' That such a person could be found, he does not at this stage seem to doubt, for he goes on to speak with confidence of the success of this scheme As he sees more of the stupidity and excessive timidity of the jungle people, he insists that care should be taken, 'without entering into vexatious particulars, to provide effectual means for the protection of the present inhabitants from oppression.' At this point he still entertains hopes that *care* is all that is necessary, and that by taking proper precaution, all difficulties will ultimately be overcome He thus continues—'no doubt, any one for his own interest would take care of this, but still we all know how liable our own dependents are to oppress and bully their own countrymen, when the latter are poorer, or lower in the social scale than themselves, and, no doubt, if a European came up here with a large staff of chupiassees, to collect labor &c, even if he were the kindest man in the world, and desired most of all to do justice to those he employed, yet if he did not take care, his assistants would soon drive all the Gonds and Bygars out of the country Perhaps if it could possibly be managed, it would be better if it were made legal, for every man employed to claim daily pay for work performed, and I think I would not sanction as legal, any agreement between the settlers and the Gond ryot, which was not countersigned by a magistrate, deputy collector, or some disinterested party, in order to testify, that the terms were fully understood by those who bound themselves by them'—p. 26 Now here the European is supposed to desire to take that care which is competent to obviate the difficulty—'if he did not take care his assistants would &c.,' but he will take care, it is for his own interest to do so, beside he is probably kind, and desires to be just —We are not ourselves very devoted admirers of the paternal system of Government, and are not, therefore, likely to be enamoured of such expedients as that suggested for the daily payment of coolies; nor have we unbounded confidence in the interference of deputy collectors, and other such disinterested parties. still we admit that circumstances so special may warrant treatment even as exceptional as has been

proposed, and at all events we recognize in what Captain Pearson says, a sensible and manly view of the case. He acknowledges that the average European though keen in the pursuit of gam, is anxious to be just: he insists very properly that his subordinates are all that is the reverse of this, and the jungle people being timid and stupid, he urges that the European master should be stimulated and aided in his attempts to restrain his native employés, by such regulations as while satisfying his sense of justice, may best meet that end without unnecessarily or vexatiously trammelling himself. This view, if not so sanguine as that of page 5, is at least just, and leaves the case to stand on its own merits, in fact, leaves experiment and fair trial to decide, what in reality it alone is competent to decide. At p 39, on the contrary, the whole question is prejudged, and decided for us without experiment, and even without any one reason being assigned for the conclusion announced—‘however well inclined I feel to my countrymen, *I cannot help feeling* that there are very few, who would have sufficient patience and knowledge of their character, to deal successfully with the wild and timid races who inhabit these parts, or, however well disposed and capable they might themselves be, how far they would be able to prevent their chuprassees and other assistants from exercising oppression.’ We cannot but regret that the reporter should have suppressed all the reasons on which so important an opinion as this was formed, and one so unlike that formerly advanced. We may be gratified to hear that he is well inclined to his countrymen, the state of of his feelings is highly creditable to him, but we consider the announcement of it as a poor equivalent for evidence in a case of this kind. Page 5 we find bears the date of October 1859, whereas page 39 was apparently written in May 1860. If Captain Pearson in the interim, had come in contact with some specimens of the enterprising European, and thus learned by personal inspection that he is not the amiable being he took him for, we submit that he ought to have told us so. When we once more read over the two passages which we have placed in juxtaposition above, one from page 5, the other from the end of the Report, we are prepared to maintain, that, in common justice to himself, the reporter was bound, either to give his reason for the change which his opinions had undergone, on the subject of the European colonist, or else to bring forward any evidence he may have had, for thinking the jungle man more timid than he had believed him to be at first, when ordinary care was all that he considered necessary for his protection. but, above all, we have,

we conceive, a right to call on him to inform us, what reason he has for supposing that the respectable native, whom he hopes, to induce to come up from Nagpore, will treat the jungle people differently from those other respectable natives, who, he tells us, now '*bully and keep them down*'. And finally, we may ask him, how it has come to pass, that his conviction, founded on feelings which he cannot help entertaining, of the contingent possibility that the European might permit his subordinates to bully the the Gonds, has so completely out-weighed the fact, (founded on actual evidence reported by himself,) that native landholders actually do bully them, as to warrant him in assuring us that the only hope of improving Mundla lies in encouraging the latter.

We are inclined on the whole to admit, that Captain Pearson's manner of treating this part of his subject is open to some such adverse criticism as the above adverse criticism, however, is not our object, and when we take the statements, even the statements of opinion, in the Report, apart from the way in which we find them advanced, we in the main, or at all events to a great extent, agree with every one of them, and believe that the contradictions are, after all, more apparent than real. In the first place, we agree with him in his belief that European colonization could change the Mundla district, from a thinly populated wilderness, in which a few half starved and wholly degraded savages eke out a miserable existence, into a rich and prosperous province, and, postponing for future consideration his counter proposal of native colonization, we believe that European colonization is the only way in which this could be effected but then, we do not shut our eyes to the fact, which does not seem to have engaged his attention at all, that benefits of this magnitude cannot be realized here, any more than elsewhere, without being paid for in some coin. We agree with him in thinking, there is the most serious danger that even the greatest care, kindness, and love of justice on the part of the European settler, may fail so completely to check the rascalities of his subordinates, as that an occasional Gond might not suffer an occasional wrong, or even that one or two might not occasionally run away into the jungle. At this point, however, we stop, namely at that reached by the reporter at p 26 above quoted—we agree with his opinion there expressed, that self interest would act on the settler favorably for the Gond. We have some little confidence in the action of the virtues there attributed to the European, and we further believe that certain checks might be devised, (whether those he suggests or others,) which would secure the wild man all the protection that the most rigid justice could

demand, and it is only where he fears that this could not be effected that we take issue with him, in short, although we shrink from the casuistry which teaches us to do evil that good may come, yet we believe that whatever may be *unavoidably* suffered by the wild men, would be far more than made up to them, by the advantages they would reap from the presence of European settlers in Mundla. On this point, on which we take issue with Captain Pearson, turns the whole question, in reality, we can only leave it to the reader, and in doing so it is but fair to confess that our opponent possesses fuller information and a more extended experience than we do, in spite of which we have the firmest confidence in the correctness of our own conclusions * Captain Pearson then, at first advocates, and finally rejects, the European colonization of Mundla as the best hope for the improvement of the district. We shall now proceed briefly to examine which has received his approval.

First, as to the excessive timidity of the jungle men, no one, who really knows any thing of them, will question his assertions. Their indolence too is extreme, nothing save compulsion would ever induce them to work. We speak from experience when we say that they will refuse a sum, which they could not in any other way earn in a month, if required to do, in exchange for it, three hours' work rather than undergo the very slight amount of labor required to secure the best crops of the best corn, they prefer to barely keep body and soul together by means of that miserable stuff kootkee, already described as their favorite crop and which grows almost spontaneously. We believe that no

* It may, perhaps, not be out of place here to mention, that we have seen with regret some criticisms on Captain Pearson's Report, which advocated what may be called the extreme "enterprising European" party. The reporter was personally attacked, although not one of his statements was questioned, nor any of the reasons on which he rests his conclusions impugned. It was asserted to be a self-evident proposition, that all that is required to ensure the improvement and prosperity of Mundla, is the presence there of men of the stamp of the "old Indigo planters of Bengal." It is treated as not only absurd but malicious to suppose that any injustice to any one could result from such men having uncontrolled power there, and the suggestion for the registration of contracts, is treated as a malignant insult offered by the reporter to his non-official fellow countrymen. Surely nothing could more strongly impress on any candid mind how well grounded Captain Pearson's fears may in some cases be, than the possibility of such views being seriously advocated. Nor can any thing show more clearly that the official conception of the "enterprising European" is not entirely the phantom of imaginative prejudice, or tend more powerfully to justify the apparent determination of the authorities, either to exclude him altogether from such districts as Mundla, or, if forced to admit him, to take the most stringent precautions that he shall not put in practice the theories which such advocates are not ashamed to avow.

ward, which it is in the power of man to offer, would induce them to submit to sustained labour, and we are convinced that, if to twenty average specimens there was given every luxury that the wildest effort of their imaginations could conceive, during six days, and they were required in return to do on the seventh day, an easy six hours' work, every one of the twenty would run away to starve in the jungle rather than submit to such conditions. In short we accept Captain Pearson's conclusion, that the settler could not count on the jungle man as a source of labor, and that the gentlest attempt at coercion would drive him to the woods. Unless he is to be reduced to slavery, some means must be taken to raise him at least one step in the scale of progress, before he can meet the European on common ground. This one step we believe many of his congeners (as we take the unscientific liberty of considering them) have already taken, in learning to appreciate improved food, clothes and dwellings, and in feeling the consequent desire to possess the same. This desire is the only possible motive of exertion that can be used, and prior to its existence we know of no way, save violence, by which the European settler could avail himself of their assistance at all. Now this process of giving the Gond a taste for luxury has commenced even in the wild district, though to, of course, a very partial extent. For instance at p. 32 we hear that they are 'gradually migrating towards those villages where they can obtain the advantage of bazars, that is, where Hindu cultivators are settled,' and again at p. 33, after describing the 'hopelessly bad condition' of the inhabitants of the wilder parts of the country, the reporter tells us that it is 'in strong contrast to the state of affairs about the villages nearer Mhow, which are inhabited and managed by Hindu cultivators.'

The adjoining districts, within the territories of the Rewah Rajah, are identical, as regards population and general physical condition, with those described in the Report, in all respects save one, namely, that there the experiment suggested by Captain Pearson, has been long tried, and we can safely assert, that stronger confirmation of the justness of his view could not be desired than may there be found. In that part of the country, precisely the same hill men live in precisely similar hills and dales, the only difference being, that their villages instead of belonging to themselves, themselves and their villages belong to Baghels, Ryputs, and Bramuns, who, settled here and there about the country, seem to be a kind of feudal lords of the soil. Now it is palpable, even from a superficial inspection, that this state of things is highly beneficial to the wild men: wheat, rice

jhow, urhur and other dals, chenna, sugar, janera, maize, some oil seeds, and tobacco are seen round every village, trade, if it cannot fairly be said to exist, is, at all events, beginning to be born, for *something* is exported and *something*, however little, imported. the fragments of dress one sees, for instance, are not exclusively the produce of that most antediluvian of all contrivances, the indigenous loom. Unquestionably the people eat better food in better huts, moreover they work a little. their physical condition is in short improved, very slightly perhaps, but still positively, tangibly, perceptibly, they have taken a step, and if it be but a short one, still it is in advance, they are less migratory, and the small end of the wedge is really inserted.

Their Hindu masters have all the good and all the bad qualities observable in the same kind of people elsewhere. they are a handsome thorough-bred looking race, tall, fair, dignified, and graceful in mien, and having all the outward signs of hereditary rulers of men. moreover they are lazy, idle, and dissipated, and their government of their Gond subjects may be described as an irresponsible despotism, modified (not indeed by epigrams, but) by the jungle, to which their villagers have always the resource of flying. It is perhaps humiliating to confess it, but we nevertheless believe that these men do what Englishmen would fail to do, namely, manage the wild people of the jungle profitably to themselves, and to the decided advantage of the inferior race. The overbearing insolence of the 'Anglo Saxon,' in his treatment of men of, what it pleases him to call, an inferior race, is proverbial, moreover it is (what is by no means the same thing) true; but we unhesitatingly defy any European to parallel the supercilious hauteur with which these lords of the soil treat their dependents, it is positively wonderful to see, but nothing ever led us to think that the Gonds minded, or even perceived it. we fear they do not appreciate the exquisite contempt shown for them, its artistic grace is lost upon them, of one thing at all events we are quite convinced, namely that they do not feel insulted by it.

To the Hindu Thakoor, just as much as to the European settler the labor of the Gond is the great desideratum, the first necessity; the grand difference between them lies in the form in which each would seek to obtain it. The latter would try to get it *directly*, that is in the form of a day's work, this would be a *sine quâ non*, even if he could profit by Captain Pearson's advice, and commence by cattle breeding, but much more so in the prosecution of those undertakings which would be ultimately most profitable to him, such as tea, cotton, coffee, or indigo planting, the former meanwhile seeks it, on the contrary, *indirectly*,

namely in the shape of his crop: he goes round his villages, sees the arable land, advances to the head man, or to private individuals corn for seed, sometimes also for food, and at harvest time returns for the crop. At this stage of the proceedings it is that the peculiar genius of the Thakoor shines forth with peculiar lustre; his prey is not at his mercy in the sense in which the Bengali villager is at the mercy of the mahajun. a little too much pressure and the village is deserted in a night, the inevitable jungle is within sight, and stays the master's hand. That the screw must practically be adjusted with a nicety approaching to scientific accuracy is proved by the following considerations, first, were too much exacted, cultivation under the system would to a physical certainty decrease, whereas it is rather perhaps slightly on the increase, next, were any kind of fair play to be shown the Gond, he would certainly long ere this have spread, multiplied and grown rich and independent, just as the Sonthals did in the Rajmahal hill district from 1840 to 1855, whereas we find him kept at the lowest possible stage, just above his absolutely wild condition, that is, barely up to the point at which he can be made useful to his master. Just as direct taxation is felt in a way quite unlike that in which indirect taxation is perceived to be oppressive, so the Gond parts with his labor in the shape of his crop, although nothing could induce him to give it in the shape of a day's work, that is, as we have seen, in the only form in which it could be made use of by the European settler.

But the Thakoor manages to get something out of him in the way of direct taxation also. The lord of half a dozen villages issues his perwannah, commanding the attendance of a number of young men, when the service required is the cutting and carrying of wood, we believe that obedience is always readily accorded, and no reward ever given or expected. In the case of a hunting party, or if the Thakoor himself, or any other noble traveller, requires a load to be carried for a stage, we have never heard of any question being raised, or any difficulty being made by the villager. But when sustained labor is required, if a field has to be broken up, or a bund built, then a day's food is always given in return for 3 or 4 hours' work, and we have seen many a bund and many a tank long left in a half completed condition, only because labor could not be obtained: here in fact we have the measure of the power of the Thakoor, the limit beyond which he cannot stretch his authority.

If the European could establish himself in a country like this, if he could begin where the Hindu cultivator leaves off, or rather stops short, then, indeed, we might hope for the best results;

he would offer himself, even prepared, or in process of being prepared, to the advantages of such treatment, and if he had the common sense and wisdom not to want to get on too fast, and if his pay would soon be obtainable, and a settlement once successfully made, his village would soon be crowded with deserters from the estates of his neighbours. There could there be found a more doubly truthful application of the trite old French proverb 'ce n'est que le premier pas en route' than here in the sense the European cannot make this first step in advancing the Gond on the path of progress. In the other were he permitted to make his first step as he might make it, under the guidance of Captain Pearson's advice and in the absence of the rules, it would prove his sole difficulty.

In conclusion, we must for a moment revert to the subject of this paper, namely, the great jungle tract including Santpoora, Gondwana, Mundla, Sahagpore, Singrowlie on the great majority of the subjects, suggested by an area so vast, we have not touched at all. For instance on that of its mineral wealth we had intended to have given a connected sketch, we found, however, that to do to such a subject even a semblance of justice, would have extended this article far beyond all permissible limits a technical account of the coal fields of that portion of our area which borders on the Nerbudda valley, has been published by Government, with maps, &c; to that volume we may refer as the only extant information on the subject.

Many other parts of our area equal Mundla in the peculiar advantages, to illustrate which we have analyzed Captain Pearson's Report of that fine district. Other places equal Puchmuri, or nearly equal it, in most, if not all those features which we believe render it so desirable as the site of an official colony. Mythico-historic ruins, and beautiful scenery are to be found almost everywhere, and of the former we have given but a meagre idea in our account of Bandugurh. In short, we take leave of our subject with the regretful conviction, that we have been able to do but little to attract towards it that attention which it so richly deserves.

'the European community. We are not to admit that Hindu husbands do frequently commit excesses, but certainly not more so than husbands in France and Italy. Husbands closely united to their wives are scarce in any all over the world, even for all the "long passages" and "long" marriage in many countries.' In another place he says, 'do not delight to talk scandal, this is by no means true, that in Europe, principally on the continent, it is not common for a young married woman to receive the most ardent love-letters from her admirers.' We shall not stop to refute these false and exaggerated statements; they prove how small an amount of reliance we can place on those whose knowledge is thus warped by prejudice, and an inclination to depreciate.

We are not, however, without the means of forming a just estimate of the position of women in this country. Hindu writers are by no means reticent on this subject. Lawgivers, philosophers, poets and historians alike contribute freely to enable us to understand what men think of women. Added to this, there are certain great facts patent to the observation, which no reasoning can justify to a healthy Christian mind, and which stand out prominently and offensively on the surface of native society, like huge tumours and excrescences only fit for the surgeon's knife. Women are almost always married before they are ten years of age; reading and writing are deemed superfluous for them, if not pernicious; and not often every three hundred can read the sentiments universally ascertained of their capacities, uses and dispositions are contemptuous and brutal in the extreme. They live secluded from society, either because they are deemed too weak or too wicked to mix with the world, or wisely or well should they ever, when children, for their husbands, there is for them but a dreary life of unbroken widowhood, hardly ever relieved by sympathy and tenderness. Nor can we forget that for centuries, women in every part of India were allowed to burn themselves on their husbands' funeral pyres, and were taught that this was the holiest action they could perform, and that over the greater part of this vast peninsula, female life was so little valued that infanticide was not a crime, and, indeed, was often deemed a meritorious act. The first has ceased, the latter is happily passing away, but it must be remembered that no shaster, and scarce a Hindu sect, or even a solitary individual, ever recorded a protest or uttered an expostulation against these enormous wrongs. These constitute the gravamen of the charge we bring against the system of Hindu female society,—that it is viciously constituted and based on falsehood; a mighty wrong and injury being

wrought by one half the community on the other half, afflicting and degrading alike those who work and those who endure it.

In the ancient, the Vedic period, woman was more honoured and free than she is now. 'Hymns in the Rig-veda mention her with respect and affection, comparing the goodness of the god Agni to that of a brother for his sisters,' and the brightness of this god to the shining of a woman in her love.* Sarah, Rebekah and Rachel, Hagar and Leah, Bilhah and Zilpah, Dinah and Tamar resemble as closely as may be the women of ancient India. And the state of society in which the former lived, exhibiting moral laxity mingled with fierce jealousy, freedom and restraint, an assumption of authority on the part of men, and its frequent evasion by the cunning management of women, a courteous deference to them, combined with a suspiciousness alike of their rights and of their integrity and constancy, gives us perhaps the best portraiture we can now have, of the relative position of men and women in this land three thousand years ago. In the ages immediately succeeding they were held in similar esteem. They listened to Brahmanical discourses, and occasionally took part in moral and philosophical discussions. They were seen at public festivals. Yet that which pleases us most are the indications scattered here and there, of the mingled honour and affection with which they were regarded. We lay little stress on the fact that the greatest of Indian poems, turns on the capture and deliverance of a woman, but it is worthy of notice that the beautiful Sita is ever spoken of, especially by her husband, in terms which plainly tell how highly gentleness, fortitude, fidelity and woman's love were regarded by strong, brave men in those primitive ages. The troubled story of king Nala and his wandering, faithful wife Damayanti in the Mahabharat, illustrates the same truth, and shews that women had a larger liberty than now for besides being permitted to roam about at will, Damayanti actually chose her own husband. The beautiful story of Savitri, told also in the Mahabharat, gives a picture of womanly fidelity and tenderness which is very touching, and, to refer to a later period, the 'Meg Dutha' breathes sentiments of pure affection and loving honour towards an absent wife, which are not always, we fear, waited to absent spouses by their loving lords, in these days of enforced and necessary separation.

Coming down to the time of Menu, we find a very marked deterioration in the position of the sex, and since his code has given the key-note to all subsequent opinion and usage, we shall

* Mrs. Spier's "Life in Ancient India" p 166

quote some passages from him, premising however, that the code is evidently founded, to a large degree, on pre-existing usages and opinions, and that therefore there must have been causes at work, tending towards an unfavourable change in the lot of women some generations before the advent of the great codifier, though it is not to be denied that he rivetted, with evident satisfaction, the last links of their galling chain. The causes leading to this ill-fated depreciation cannot now be ascertained, probably like many other social problems in oriental history, they are far even beyond our reach, though it would not be difficult speculatively, to define the steps by which the sex descended from their tower of pride, to their seat in the dust.

'By a girl, or by a young woman, or by a woman advanced in years, nothing must be done, even in her own dwelling place, according to her mere pleasure'*

'A widow must a female be dependent on her father, in her husband, her lord being dead on her sons — a woman must never seek independence'†

'Though unobservant of approved usages, or enamoured of another woman, or devoid of good qualities, yet a husband must constantly be revered as a god by a virtuous wife'‡

'No sacrifice is allowed to women apart from their husbands, religious rite, no fasting — as far only as a wife honours her lord, so far she is exalted in her husband'§

'Let her emaciate her body, living voluntarily on pure flowers, roots and fruit, but let her not, when her lord is deceased, even pronounce the name of another man'||

'A wife, a son, a servant, a pupil, and a younger whole brother, may be corrected when they commit faults, with a rope or a small shoot of a cane.'¶

'For women, children, persons of crazy intellect, the old, the poor, and the infirm, the king shall order punishment with a small whip, a twig or a rope.'**

'It is the nature of women in this world to cause the seduction of men, for which reason the wise are never unguarded in the company of females'

'A female, indeed is able to draw from the right path in this life not a fool only, but even a sage, and can lead him in subjection to desire or to wrath'

* Menu's "Institutes of Hindu Law," chap V, p 147

† Ibid, 148

‡ Ibid, 151

§ Ibid, 155

|| Ibid, 157,

¶ Ibid, chap VIII, 299

** Ibid, chap IX 230

'Let no man, therefore, sit in a sequestered place with his nearest female relations'*

'A barren wife may be superseded by another in the eighth year she, whose children are all dead, in the tenth she, who brings forth only daughters, in the eleventh she, who speaks unkindly, without delay'†

'Women have no business with the text of the Veda, thus is the law fully settled having therefore no evidence of law, and no knowledge of expiatory texts, sinful women must be foul as falsehood itself, and this is a fixed rule'‡

Women are ranked with the inferior castes Obedience to her husband is the grand duty of a wife, which, if faithfully performed, stands as a substitute for all other duties, be they civil or sacred If a wife neglects her husband because he drinks or gambles, she must be punished, but if 'she drinks, or shews hatred to her lord or is mischievous, or wastes his property, she may at all times be superseded by another wife'§ It is a husband who exalts a wife to happiness in the next world 'A widow who slights her deceased husband by marrying again, brings disgrace on herself here below, and shall be excluded from the seat of her lord'

These passages are not only valuable as exhibiting an ancient form of opinion, they may be taken as a tolerably correct mirror of the current state of feeling in our own day, and thus we arrive at the melancholy conclusion, that for 2500 years, one half the population of this densely inhabited and enormous peninsula, have been thus thought of and thus treated by the other half That opinion on this subject has not materially altered will be made clear in future pages, although it is obvious from the fact, that the code of the ancient lawgiver is still recognised as sacred and authoritative throughout purely native society But let us now give a proof of the unhappy harmony subsisting between ancient opinion and modern, by citations from the Gentoo code, which, though chiefly compiled from Menu, was itself issued eighty years ago, as an authoritative exposition of Hindoo law, and by citing a few proverbs and popular sayings, which in all countries embody so largely the popular state of thought and feeling —

'A man, both day and night, must keep his wife so much in subjection, that she by no means be mistress of her own actions if the wife have her own free will, notwithstanding she be sprung from a superior caste, she will yet behave amiss' ||

* Ibid, II 213, 214, 215

† Ibid, IX. 81

‡ Ibid, IX 18

§ Ibid, IX 78, 80

|| A Code of Gentoo Law, Chap xx, p 249

'A woman shall never go out of the house without the consent of her husband, * * * * and shall never hold discourse with a strange man, but may converse with a suniassi, a hermit, or an old man, * * * * and shall not stand at the door and must never look out of a window '*

'Women have six qualities, the first an inordinate desire for jewels and fine furniture, handsome clothes and nice victuals, * * * * *, the third, violent anger, the fourth deep resentment, (1 e) no person knows the sentiments concealed in their heart, the fifth, another person's good appears evil in their eyes, the sixth, they commit bad actions '†

'In creatures with nails, in rivers, in horned animals, in those with weapons in their hands, confidence must not be placed, nor in women, nor in kings' favourites '‡ 'One may trust deadly poison, a river, a hurricane, the beautiful, large, fierce elephant, the tiger come from prey, the angels of death, a thief, a savage, a murderer, but if one trust a woman, without doubt he must wander about the streets a beggar '§

The most offensive and depreciatory of these sentiments we have suppressed. Many proverbs appear to be the masculine, popular embodiment of these calumnious and unjust laws. For instance —

'Blind sons support their parents, but a prince's daughter extorts money from them' That is, a son, however helpless, will care for his parents, but a daughter, however rich, will try to get all she can from hers.

'Unless a daughter dies she cannot be praised for her virtue'—Women are so fickle and frail that you are never sure what their lives will turn out to be.

'Those who attend to the words of a woman are possessed with devils'—Plain enough!

'Females produce young ones'—They are given to exaggeration, and produce wonderful stories out of very meagre facts.

'We cannot understand the character of women, even the gods cannot' "

'Women are unsteady as the birds that float in the air'

The sentiments prevalent throughout Southern India are equally insulting, offensive and degrading. A Tamil proverb says, 'even were a woman well read and behaved, taking her counsel would lead to the eating of refuse.'

* Ibid, p 252

† Ibid, 250

‡ Nithi—Sinthamani.

§ Ibid

A popular stanza in Tamil literature hits off the mutual weaknesses of both sexes, it was written by Onvray the renowned female sage

All women were good if left alone
 " They are spoiled by those who rule them,
 And by men might a little sense be shewn,
 But the women so befool them

The same traitorous and clever woman has said, 'Ignorance is an ornament to women'

It is but candid to admit, that though this be the prevalent language alike of lawgivers, shastras and moralists, other sentiments of a much more kindly nature are now and then to be met with. Thus one Puranic authority says—'Women are the friends of the solitary, they solace him with their sweet converse, like to a father in the discharge of duty, consoling as a mother in affliction' Even the Institutes of the ancient lawgiver contain the following admirable sentiments.—'Married women must be honoured and adorned by their fathers and brethren, by their husbands, and by the brethren of their husbands, if they seek abundant prosperity, where females are honoured, there the duties are pleased, but if they are dishonoured there all religious acts become fruitless. Where female relatives are made miserable, the family of him who makes them so, very soon wholly perishes. On whatever houses the women of a family, not being duly honoured pronounce an imprecation that house with all that belongs to it, will utterly perish'* We may remark, by the way, that we are quite sure this unusually gallant and benevolent utterance, came neither from the brain nor the heart of the great codifier himself. It is evidently one of those thoughts he picked up, as Elphinstone says, in writings ancient even in his day, for he was a compiler rather than an original lawmaker and thinker, and in a moment of weakness inserted in his compilation. Had 'new and improved editions' been as common in Menu's days as in our own, we feel quite sure this would have been struck out, as a very weak and foolish passage, by the dry, hard, women-contemning sage

Let us now endeavour to portray the present state of female society. It will be seen, that with slight modifications, it is a transcript of that which the old Lawgiver wished, ~~to~~ see.

That the birth of a son is greatly preferred to that of a daughter no Hindu will deny, though apologists are not wanting who affirm, that this arises from adventitious causes, and that if Hindus

* The Codes of Menu c. III, 55, 56, 57, 58

have this bias so have Europeans. Admitting that this is the case, it may with truth be affirmed that on the part of western parents it is slight, whilst on that of Hindus it is strong and even intense. If they pray for offspring it is for sons not daughters. There is a definite value attached to the former, they are at once an honour, a necessity and an advantage, the latter, on the other hand, are regarded as a reproach, an encumbrance and a source of trouble. The wife who only bears daughters is despised, and may be displaced by another. The congratulations which are freely offered on the birth of a son are withheld on the birth of a daughter, if indeed expressions of condolence are not offered to the unfortunate father. The Tamil parent strikes the roof of his hut three times, in token of gladness when a son is born. The Bengali Kulin sees in a daughter a bitter well-spring of anxiety, expense, and possible humiliation, for she must probably marry a man who has many wives, most of whom he but seldom sees, she must live a burden on her father's house, and be exposed to more than ordinary trials and temptations through the absence of him who ought at once to be her 'bread winner' and her protector. Still greater are the regrets among Rajputs when a daughter is born. For her to live unmarried would be both disgraceful and impious, to marry one of the same clan, whom we should call an equal, is degrading if not incestuous, to find a suitable husband is difficult indeed, and requires a sum of money usually beyond the parent's means; in this dilemma, instead of breaking through a hateful custom, they have been wont to destroy the greater part of their female offspring. Parents who can deliberately perpetrate such an atrocity, are glad when the birth of a son saves them from its commission, but there is guilty and mournful significance in the reply of the Rajput, who, when asked if a girl or boy has been born in his family replies, 'nothing.'

But exceptional customs apart, the Hindus universally prefer male offspring, for some reasons which we can appreciate, and for others which arise only from an ill constituted form of society. Morally and intellectually woman is deemed inferior to man. This idea underlies the whole framework of society. But a son is a necessity to a Hindu family. He alone, and not a daughter, performs the Shraddha, which quenches the hunger of departed ancestors, and guards them against unnumbered ills. Dismal indeed is that house which has not a son thus to enrich it. A daughter on the other hand is not only not a necessity, she is an encumbrance and a source of anxiety. She is ever dependent and seldom trusted. If we

may employ such a phrase, she is of no use to her family. Marry she must whilst yet a child, and it is no easy task sometimes to find a suitable partner for her, when found, to unite them is a terribly expensive business, and when that is done she becomes an essential part of her husband's family. 'The duty of daughters is, from the day of their marriage, transferred entirely to their husbands and then husbands' parents, on whom alone devolves the duty of protecting and supporting them through the wedded and the widowed state. The links that united them to their parents are broken. All the reciprocity of rights and duties which have bound together the parent and child from infancy, is considered to end with the consummation of her marriage, nor does the stain of any subsequent *backsliding* ever affect the family of her parents—it can affect that only of her husband, which is held alone responsible for her conduct.* Even should her husband die she seldom returns to her father's house, save as an occasional visitor. May we not conclude then from all this, that the rejoicing or sadness attendant on the birth of children is largely owing, in the best families at least, in some measure to a conviction of the superiority of men to women, but still more to a painful consciousness, that the iron customs of the country have created a great, an unjust, and an unhappy disparity in the fortunes of the sexes!

But the preference given to male children, is seen not only in the actual joy that breaks forth because a mother does *not* give birth to a daughter, but in two, at least, of the customs which follow on parturition. The one relates to the mother, the other to the child. Hindu ceremonial law declares that a deeper stain of impurity attaches to the birth of a girl than of a boy — 'A mother having brought forth a boy, may be allowed to do her accustomed work, having bathed after twenty nights, but after a month, when she is delivered of a girl,' says one of the *shastras*. A superstition not without its grave and suggestive associations, is connected with the sixth night of a child's existence. It is supposed that Vidhata, the Supreme, in the form of destiny, then comes and writes in unseen, but ineradicable characters the fate which has been preordained for the child. And then it is that the goddess Shashthi, the supposed guardian of infants, is worshipped. Offerings are made to her; adorations are presented to make her propitious to the child, and the following prayer is addressed to her—'Come, O

* "Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official" By Colonel Sleeman Vol I. p. 230.

'thou blessing-dispensing goddess, celebrated by the name of 'the great Shashthi, and by thy divine energy protect my son 'in the watch room As Scanda the son of Gouri, was ever 'guarded by thee, so may this my son likewise be preserved. 'Reverence to thee, O Shashthi' Now all this worship and invocation, as well as the festivities accompanying it, are usually omitted with female offspring

The childhood of a Hindu girl differs little from the ordinary phases of juvenility elsewhere, save in two particulars,—it is made far too short by early marriage, and even its infantile associations are injured and disfigured by a premature acquaintance with the contingencies of connubial life She has her dolls, her games, and her pretty ways but unfortunately she is not left entirely, nor long enough to these Though mental training is denied her, she is early taught that she must be married, and all the unhappy possibilities of that state are intruded on her innocent and simple nature From her earliest years she hears about her marriage,—the display with which it will be celebrated;—the kind of husband it is likely she will obtain,—the presents he may give her,—the pleasures and pains of married life,—the likelihood of her becoming a widow, and the possibilities of her being superseded in her husband's affections by another. Even her religious emotions are guided very much in this direction Besides the ceremonies and rites sanctioned by the shastras, there have sprung up a number of others which can lay claim to no authority, but which are largely sanctioned by custom; and the vows and prayers of young girls form no small part of these Two or three of these may be mentioned The Shajoti, is a ceremony performed by female children of all classes, under the careful superintendence of the female head of the family, for the purpose of obtaining a good husband, who shall never take a second wife, and give to her who prays plenty of ornaments. The Yampookur consists chiefly of worship given to the Hindu Pluto, to render him propitious, so that she who worships him may never be deprived of her husband, and subjected to all the sorrow and shame of widowhood.

The play of childhood is soon interrupted by the mingled gravities and follies of marriage. Like everything else relating to the framework of native society, the proper age for its celebration is fixed by the shastras, and confirmed by immemorial custom 'The marriage of a girl (whatever her caste) is to be 'celebrated after she is seven years old, otherwise it becomes 'contrary to the dictates of religion. At the age of eight, she

'becomes a *Gouri*, at the age of nine she becomes a *Rohini*,* and at the age of ten a mere virgin. Her youth commences if she is older. Therefore the wise are to dispose of her before the close of her tenth year, even if the time were otherwise inauspicious or improper.† Menu says — 'To an excellent and handsome youth of the same class, let every man give his daughter in marriage according to law, even though she have not attained her age of eight years.‡ So important does the old lawgiver consider this matter, that he counsels nothing short of female rebellion and independence as the ultimatum, if the father of a girl neglect to provide her with a partner — 'Three years (beyond the eighth) let a damsel wait, though she be marriageable, but after that term, let her choose for herself a bridegroom of equal rank. If not being given in marriage she choose her bridegroom, neither she, nor the youth chosen commits any offence.'

That every girl must be married, is a law in the Hindu code of fashion, which has its ludicrous aspects, but the gravity of the evils it produces forbids that we should make ourselves merry over them. It leaves neither liberty to the parent nor child. It forbids all preference and choice. It forces, an union often, where its only consequences must be disgust, disappointment or sorrow. It destroys the ~~sanctity~~ ^{sanctity} and dignity of marriage, by directing the minds of children to a union which should never be regarded as universally incumbent, and by turning the parent into a mere negotiator whose great and sole aim is to get his child married off his hands, even whilst she is a child §. But the early age of marriage

* *Gouri* and *Rohini* are the names of two of the twenty seven stars in the Hindoo Calendar. The former represents the wife of Shiva, the latter of Chandro. *Gouri* is therefore superior to *Rohini*, and he who gives his daughter in marriage at the earlier period, confers a gift superior to him who keeps his daughter unmarried until the age of nine. The Hindoo idea really is, when translated into ordinary phraseology, that a girl must be married before the age of puberty, and the sooner after the age of seven the better, and the more meritorious. If she be not married before this period great disgrace ensues, and abhorrent sin is supposed to follow.

† Rev K. M. Banerjee's *Prize Essay* on native Female Education p. 24.

‡ The Code Chap. IX. 88.

§ Hence has arisen the recognized profession of the *Ghataks*, formerly monopolised by men, but now we understand largely engaged in by women, who on account of their superior information respecting the charms and qualifications of girls, which they can ascertain by having access to zenanas, are likely to monopolise the business in turn, and drive their masculine rivals out of the field. The *Ghatak* is employed in looking out for a suitable partner for any girl who is approaching the prescribed age for marriage. The preliminary arrangements which bring the parents into negotiation are usually transacted through this singular official.

is an evil tenfold greater than is even the enforcement of marriage. A girl must either be united to a mere boy, or be bound to a man much older than herself. In both cases the contracting parties are mutually ignorant of each other, and probably have never spent a moment in each other's society. It is obvious that such a procedure enormously increases the probabilities, that marriage will not conduct to satisfactory issues. It is true, that parents will usually be animated by a strong desire to form such alliances for their children, as bid fair to lead to happy results, that their prudence and foresight are more likely to secure *equal social* alliances, than are the passionate impulses and extravagant imaginings of inexperienced youth; that if love does not exist before marriage, it may follow after it, where parents have been judicious in the selection. Yet to all this the reply is conclusive and final—marriage is a contract so intimately affecting the entire natures and the life-long happiness of the two who are united by it, that it ought to be left entirely at the choice of the two whom it binds together. The present system of course, is attended with less evil, than if women were advanced toward the English idea of their rights and privileges, but even now, with their meek and uncomplaining submissiveness, the amount of evil it must necessarily induce is beyond all computation. The alliances, where there is found to exist that subtle and instinctive repugnance of natures, which all keen observers of mankind have marked, but failed to analyze, where there is that which disgusts and offends, where the temper, the tastes and the feelings are antagonistic, and where the transporting and glorious passion of love can never be developed, must be very numerous, and so far as they exist, they must diminish that amount of happiness, whatever it is, of which Hindu married life is *respectable*.

But the impediment put in the way of all mental improvement is not the least of the evils arising out of this pernicious custom. For a girl of five or six years of age to be taught that she is to be married before she is ten, for her to be taught hardly any thing but what relates to her nuptials, for her to be introduced to the cares and responsibilities of maternity before she is fifteen, is of itself sufficient to check all mental culture and to impair beyond hope of restoration the moral purity and innocence of woman. This would inevitably be the result, even if, as among us, it were admitted, that the mind should be cultivated, but how much greater must be the injury, where both the wisdom and the right of such cultivation is denied.

The physical effects of such premature unions, both upon mothers and then children, can easily be imagined, and need not here be fully stated. Hindu women are certainly as richly endowed with feminine grace, dignity and beauty, as women anywhere. The liness of their frames, the natural elegance of their movements when free and unconstrained, the beautiful symmetry of their small hands and feet, the clearness of their complexions, and the great regularity, if not exceedingly delicate chiselling of their features, are feminine treasures of which they will be justly proud when they can compare themselves with the women of other climes. But all these charms are prematurely injured by early marriage. Before the girl has become a full grown woman she is a mother, and by the time most English women marry, she has given birth to two thirds of her children.* No wonder then that at thirty, when she should be in the summer of her beauty and strength, she gives indications of premature decay, and at forty, has lost all traces of loveliness and of comeliness. Indeed Hindu women enjoy no summer tide of glorious beauty, such as is accorded to their western sisters, who dwell, we will not say in a happier clime, for the climate is not the cause, but in the midst of more genial influences. They, from the age of twenty-five until forty, or forty-five, retain, almost unimpaired and undimmed, the graces with which they are so richly endowed. Here, however, ere feminine maturity is reached, they become associated with influences fatal to their beauty and prime, and they droop and die away, as if youth and old age were alone the destined heritage of women.

It requires no stretch of imagination to picture the kind of mothers such a system produces. Affection is not wanting. Thanks to a beneficent Creator¹ who has so constituted humanity that some of its best emotions are indestructible, for though for a time they may be perverted, they return invariably to their proper channels, like the sun's kindly influence after an eclipse, and the germinant powers of nature after a season of drought, and blight. But there is much more that is wanting and which, alas, is seldom or never found. There is wanting the trained mind to influence the child's mind. There is wanting the disciplined feelings to prevent the mother making of her little one nothing but a toy. There is wanting all, or much of that matronly dignity and power, which at once

* "The mean age of mothers at a first birth, calculated from ninety five instances given, is little more than two years higher than the age of puberty, being fourteen years and eight months." This is in Bengal. In other parts of India the average age is a little greater.

rules, attracts and blesses a family. A Hindu mother of fifteen is no fit guardian of her infant's welfare, nor does she become better qualified to guide its steps as it advances toward maturity, for all means of mental improvement and growth are denied her.

The physical injury inflicted on a people by early marriage must necessarily be great. The immaturity of parents must lead to the weakness of their offspring. This is a law very far reaching in its issues, and worthy of much more attention than it has received. It is illustrated most in Bengal, where it is most violated. The people are the children of children, they are therefore the least muscular of races. They are incapable of much exertion, or fatigue. Their want of stamina predisposes them to disease, and renders them incapable of sustaining its attacks. They have a large number of children, but few of them arrive at maturity, and the average duration of native life is less than twenty years, or only two thirds of what it is in England. To the same cause we are inclined to attribute that intellectual subtlety, combined with a great want of mental robustness, which is one of their most marked psychological characteristics. Much of this, we are aware, is attributed by some to the tropical exuberance of the climate, which, they say, forces both life and death into rapid motion. We deny this. The characteristics we have just pointed out, owe their existence mainly to the fact, that every Bengali woman is married before she is eleven years of age, either to a youth little older than herself, or to a widower who is most likely a great deal older, and to the customs arising out of this violation of natural law.

Before describing married life we wish, because of its redeeming features and beautiful appropriateness, to refer to the closing vows mutually plighted at nuptials. We need hardly say, that the ceremonies on such occasions are very numerous, very trivial and unmeaning, and sometimes not very decent. The following rites, however, breath sentiments which we can hope are carried not seldom into actual life. After various trivial ceremonies the bride's Pandit addresses the bridegroom in language such as follows, 'The bride says to you — If you live happy, keep me 'happy also, if you be in trouble, I will be in trouble too, you 'must support me, and must not leave me when I suffer, you must 'always keep with me and pardon all my faults, and your *poojās* 'pilgrimages, fastings, incense, and all other religious duties, you 'must not perform without *me*, you must not defraud me regarding conjugal love, you must have nothing to do with another 'woman while I live, you must consult me in all that you do, and

'you must always tell me the truth—Vishnu, fire, and the Brahmins are witnesses between you and me' To this the bridegroom replies 'I will all my life time do just as the bride requires of me but she also must make me some promises She must go with me through suffering and trouble, and must always be obedient to me, she must never go to her father's house unless she is asked by him, and when she sees another man in better circumstances or more beautiful than I am, she must not despise or slight me' To this the girl answers 'I will all my life do just as you require of me? Vishnu, fire, Brahmins, and all present are witnesses between us' After this the bridegroom takes some water in his hand, the Pandit repeats something, and the former sprinkles it on the bride's head Then the bride and the bridegroom both bow before the Sun in worship After this the bridegroom carries his hand over the right shoulder of the bride and touches her hair, and then puts some *bundun* (a coloured powder) on her *maug* or the line on her head, and puts his shoes on her feet, but immediately takes them off again *

A Hindu woman's cares and humiliations begin with marriage, and therefore they begin early The first indication of her altered condition is in the limitation of her personal liberty It seems to be regarded not only as the prudent course, but the most fashionable one, to inhibit all promiscuous intercourse between women and men, and to reduce it even in families to the smallest possible limits Of course, the poor cannot shut up their women, but it is astonishing to observe how soon he who gets rich or respectable, however low his caste, begins to hide his female relations from public view A high fence around his compound, and an inner apartment exclusively for the use of women, immediately proclaim his rising fortunes As the southern breeze and free ventilation are essential in a European residence, so seclusion is the great thing to be secured in a native one Away from the street or the road, all respectable women must live in dingy, prison-like apartments with the smallest possible number of doors and windows, which through their narrow bars admit no sight-seeing but such as is afforded by the firmament, or the dreary monotony of a stagnant tank, or an ill cultivated garden A stray female may occasionally penetrate into the *zenana*, men never, excepting—to use an Irishism—they be the small boys of the family It is even thought improper for a husband to have any social intercourse with his wife during

* Domestic manners and customs of the Hindoos ' by Bibou Isuroe Dass

the day Thus deprived of personal liberty, hardly ever having conversation with strangers of her own sex, and never with men, circumscribed not only in her ability to move from place to place but even in her power of vision, hardly ever quitting her own dwelling, and when she does, travelling in a covered conveyance through the chinks of which alone she can peer, she leads a life which is dull, monotonous and uninteresting in the extreme. This jealous seclusion of the sex is often traced up to the influence and example of the Mahomedans. Previous to their advent, it is said, women were comparatively free, but such was the license of their conduct and the evils it induced, that the people in their jealousy and terror found no safety but in adopting the exclusive custom of their conquerors. There may be some truth in this, but not much. Women were kept in seclusion for centuries even before the rise of Moslemism, and if occasionally they had liberty, such cases were quite exceptional*. Indeed the practice seems necessarily to follow from the low and jealous ideas entertained of the sex in the earliest ages, and propounded in a variety of forms in the Code of the great Lawgiver.

To dwell in such circumscribed limits, would, under the most favourable circumstances prove noxious, and prejudicial alike to the frame, the mind and the heart. If the inmates of the zenana were highly educated, if they were endowed with all those accomplishments which so pleasantly occupy and gracefully adorn their Western sisters, life would even then be without elasticity, and the feelings would droop as if they had no vigour and no spring, if they were thus secluded from the outer world. How much more must this be the case where the mind is left, totally uneducated, destitute of even the power to read, and where society is unsoftened by the benignant, pure and ennobling influences of Christianity.

That women in India are not taught to read, that the art should be forbidden them both by religion and by custom, that they should be deemed unworthy of such an acquisition by a people who boast of their learning and civilization, is at once the condemnation of Hinduism, and the opprobrium of its adherents. Says the code 'women have no business with the text of the Vedas, 'thus is the law fully settled having therefore no evidence of 'law, and no knowledge of expiatory texts, sinful women must be 'foul as falsehood itself, and this is a fixed rule'† Another

* Luksman thus expresses his astonishment on finding a woman, walking in a desert wild. "What! art thou wandering fearless, whose form is that of one who should not see even the sun?" Bhatti

† Menu's code, Chap. XI 18

authority says—"the Vedas are not even to be heard either by 'the servile class, women, or degraded Brahmins'."* These injunctions reach much farther than at first sight appears. In commenting on the latter passage, the Rev K M Banerjee says "And as pronunciation, grammar, versification arithmetic, mixed 'mathematics, were included in the number of the Vedangas, or 'members of the Vedas, an almost impassable barrier may be said to 'have been opposed to the education of the Shudrias and the women'." Even should it be denied that the common elements of knowledge are forbidden by the Shastrias to them—a point we think settled, but which we do not care to dispute—it cannot be questioned that usage is opposed to their education. The prejudice against women being taught to read and write has been up to our own age deep and universal. They are considered dangerous accomplishments. It is supposed that they will destroy modesty, induce pride, encourage intrigue, and bring down calamity on her who is thus fatally gifted, as well as upon the husband who is infatuated enough to marry her who is thus dangerously gifted, or to allow her, when his wife, to acquire these dubious qualifications and for these and other reasons it is that women, with but rare exceptions, are left in total ignorance.

Another unhappy element in their lot is the very subordinate position all women, excepting the Guinee, or head of the family, occupy. The latter is usually the mother-in-law, or, in case of her death, the eldest brother's wife, and in a respectable family the number of subordinate females is considerable. These personages all the world over, are suspected of having a prejudice against a son's wife, and their own training in India is certainly not fitted to make them better than mothers elsewhere, hence the sayings of southern India—"If the mother-in-law break the pan, it is earthen, if the daughter-in-law break it, it is a golden vessel." "Tears come into the eyes of a daughter-in-law six months after the death of the mother-in-law." Even if the yoke of the lady-superior be easy, there are other domestic contingencies which threaten the happiness of the dweller in the Zenana. The partialities of the Guinee for some one of her own widowed daughters, perchance returned by her unhappy loss to the paternal abode, or for one of her own daughters-in-law, or for some of the grand-children, the greater affection exhibited by one husband than by another, the richer clothes and more precious ornaments obtained from a husband by one wife. These and a variety of other causes disturb greatly the peace of families, and keep

* Sree Bhagabhat

the female apartments in a state of chronic warfare. Nor does the influence of a husband mitigate those evils to any appreciable extent. He probably, with his favourite lawgiver, attributes the evils of the Zenana, not to the tyranny and selfish folly of his own sex, but to women's "mutable temper, their want of settled affection, and their perverse nature," "their love of their bed, of their seat, and of ornaments, impure appetites, wrath, weak flexibility, desire of mischief and bad conduct," and therefore he thinks it hopeless to reason with such beings, and makes up his mind that the evil cannot be helped, only that he will repress it with a strong hand when it troubles his own repose. And these evils are intensified because there is no escape from them, not even a temporary one. How much strife and ill feeling are avoided in an English home by our free usages. Many a domestic storm blows over, because a woman when she sees it gathering, puts on her bonnet and takes an agreeable walk, or makes a call or two, which wonderfully restores her own good nature, and gives time to the antagonistic element at home also to cool down. Or there is an easy and efficacious retreat in some genial book, or in the thousand occupations which fill an Englishwoman's hands and thoughts. Even should the home pressure become intolerable, there are a multitude of honourable expedients which are within reach of most women either of education or of energy. The Hindu woman has literally no antidote and no means of escape. She must bear the full force of whatever adverse circumstances fall to her lot, and the only way of escape is through the dreary gate of death.

In what way a respectable woman spends her time, is a question involved in some mystery, from the fact that she appears to have nothing to do. Of course the poor have plenty of occupation. They labour quite as hard as the same class in England. But the richer classes have apparently nothing to engage their hands or their thoughts. They have no furniture to clean, no clothes to make or mend, no "fancy work" to interest them, no letters to answer, and no novel "to finish." We know that they spend much time in devotion, more, considerably, than she who worships a purer divinity and holds a truer faith, we are told—and shall we not believe it, for they are women?—that they attend elaborately to the toilet, we believe that they give long audience to the menials who bring the gossip of the neighbourhood, and that games of skill and of chance, like cards, dice and chess, are much played.

It is obvious, however, from what we have described, that the ordinary life of a Hindu woman is a very unenviable one. Her

sources of happiness are very few, and they are all of an inferior nature. The causes of her humiliation are very numerous. She is doomed to inactivity. She is most trusted if she be ignorant. From childhood she is taught that she is too weak and wicked to be confided in, or consulted, that she is not fit to be the equal, but only the servant and plaything of man, that it is presumptuous, if not wicked, for her to desire to aspire to know, and to do. Thus do they live and die, with all the rich and beautiful dowry with which they have been gifted by God, undeveloped and repressed, like lovely flowers in the depths of a forest, unseen by any eyes but such as cannot comprehend their beauty; or like precious herbs instinct with healing virtues, which are not dreamt of by the rude races in whose lands they flourish.

Of the precise amount of influence possessed by women in families, it is difficult to speak positively. In social matters they are left, to a great extent, to do as they please. Their wishes respecting religious observances are much deferred to, and in the distribution of property they usually have rights which cannot be ignored. A clever, scheming, active woman, will of course get power, and often wield it over her own husband, nor are the cases unfrequent in which a man becomes the unconscious and willing servant of a wife, who has fascinated him with her beauty or her superior mental endowments. The following extracts contain much truth, although the writer is certainly disposed to rate the position of women too highly in the social scale —

'The laws of the Hindoos, instead of being degrading to women as it respects the rights of property, may be regarded as more indulgent than those of most nations. Hence in almost every transaction, respecting family property, the women have great influence, and show considerable tact and aptitude for business, and are not very easily outwitted by the cunning tricks about title deeds &c, in which the Indian lawyers are often better versed, than in the simpler rules of common honesty. As the women have legal rights to certain parts of all real family property, very few bargains can be made about it, without their consent. The same may be said with respect to all marriage transactions, affecting not merely their own children, but also their grand-children, and a man applying for the hand of a damsel, either for himself, or his son, makes perfectly sure that all is right, if he has once got the consent of the grandmother. As far as the elderly women, in general, are concerned it may be safely stated, that scarcely any important step, affecting the family interests, can be taken, either by their sons, or husbands, without their consent.'

'That there is a great want of gallantry and of external attention to females in India, especially in Bengal, (where the men being, even for India, proverbially destitute of manliness, are notorious for their harsh treatment of women) there can be no doubt; but that Indian women, generally, are so entirely deprived of all social influence, and even common respect, as some writers, whose observation has been confined chiefly to Bengal, have represented, is entirely contrary to all my experience, in those parts of India where I have resided. They do not indeed appear so much on the open stage of life, as their more privileged, and better instructed sisters in Europe, but their influence behind the scenes, is not less powerful, as every one who has much to do with native society, soon becomes aware. Indeed, very seldom can a man complete any engagement, or important business transaction, unless he is a very common business man, without first having settled the affair with his privy council, in the female apartments of his house. In India, as in Europe, a man either respects his wife's judgment sufficiently to make him wish to have her advice, or he stands in such awe of her resentment, as to make him very reluctant to proceed in any cause opposed to her will. The share which women have in family property, would of course, render many transactions entirely void, if not carried on with their consent, and in almost all family affairs, whether secular or religious, their influence is very great. That of the elderly women, if they happen to be possessed of considerable sagacity, is not unfrequently even greater than that of the men, but the younger women being usually treated very much as children, even after they are married, and have young children of their own, have not nearly so much influence as women of the same age in Europe, being almost entirely under the authority of their mothers-in-law, who claim, and exercise over them, and their children, the same authority as over their own unmarried daughters. Marriage merely transfers authority, over a very young woman, from her own parents, to her parents-in-law, to whom her husband also, is still, to a large extent, subject. Nearly all the power, of which the family system in India deprives the younger women, is transferred, not, as is sometimes supposed, to the men, whether fathers, brothers, or husbands, but to the elder female members of their families, on either side. Unless where polygamy is practised, which is only the case among a few of the wealthier classes, the custom of women of respectability being excluded, or of excluding themselves, from public society, instead of diminishing female influence, greatly increases it, by concentrating the active and

'untiring energies of woman, more directly, and constantly, on domestic and family affairs. The sphere of female activity being much contracted, it naturally acts with more intensity. If it is circumscribed to comparatively fewer objects, these few are pursued with the greater avidity, and, consequently, the energies that, in European female society, find scope abroad, are, in Indian life, entirely spent at home'*

But they are exposed to certain contingencies which go far to destroy even in anticipation, the small modicum of happiness spared to them. These are the marriage of a second wife by their husbands, and the dread of being left to all the humiliations of perpetual widowhood. British humanity and beneficence have freed them from other two causes of overwhelming sorrow,—the possible loss of their female offspring through infanticide, and immolation with their deceased husbands.

Divorce and polygamy are both allowed by Hindu law, though neither of them are as much practised as is generally supposed. And the Hindu who can afford it, always prefers taking a second wife to divorcing the first one. Thus she is disgraced, and, it may be, practically put aside, without being legally divorced. There is a reason for this.—Hinduism presumes that a wife can never be free from her husband, even if he die. This notion is embodied in the popular saying,—“He whose widow is not dead has half his body in the land of the living,”* and gave rise both to the suttee rite and the prohibition of marriage to widows. We cannot attribute this idea to any other source than excessive jealousy, a jealousy which abuses despotic power up to the utmost limits of human existence. It follows that wives are disgraced, superseded by others, and practically put away, but they still continue in the power of their husbands, and are not, strictly speaking, divorced, unless under very special circumstances. Menu, thus defines the law —‘Even though a man have married a young woman in legal form, yet he may abandon her, if he find her blemished, afflicted with disease, * * * * and given to him with fraud. If any man give a faulty damsel in marriage, without disclosing her blemish, the husband may annul that act of her ill-minded giver’ ‘A wife, who drinks any spirituous liquors, who acts immorally, who shows hatred to her lord, who is incurably diseased, who is mischievous, who wastes his property, may at all times be superseded by another wife. A barren wife may be superseded by another in the eighth year she, whose children are all dead in the tenth, she, who brings forth

'only daughters in the eleventh, she who speaks unkindly without delay, but she, who, though afflicted with illness, is beloved and virtuous, must never be disgraced, though she may be superseded by another wife with her own consent. If a wife, legally superseded, shall depart in wrath from the house, she must either instantly be confined, or abandoned in the presence of the whole family'*

It will be seen that loop-holes are not wanting for such as desire to use them, but for various reasons they are not much used. There is among men in this country, a strong feeling of the sanctity and indissolubility of the nuptial bond, though a lamentable laxity with regard to its obligations, they are kept therefore from indulging largely in the practice of divorce. Then if a wife is troublesome, passionate, or refractory, he has the means at hand of keeping her at a distance from him, and leaving her to herself. In this he certainly has an advantage over Englishmen. They cannot imprison refractory spouses in a corner of the house, for custom brings husband and wife into constant intercourse, and few are the really unworthy wives who are discreet enough, in times of strife, to allow the opportunity to pass of "speaking their minds." The Hindu, on the other hand, is master of the situation. He need not approach his wife. He can quietly keep out of her way. Thus by avoiding her he enjoys an amount of domestic quiet for which he may well be envied by many an unhappy Englishman, whose wife is "a free-born Briton" as well as himself, and knows well how to abuse her freedom.

Laxity of morals must be adduced as another cause why Hindus do not more frequently supersede or divorce their wives. It is the opprobrium of Hinduism that it does not stigmatise impurity as a sin, or, since the word sin has a totally different meaning as explained by a Christian and a Brahmin, let us say, as an immorality. He who cares not for his wife, forsakes her for others, without compunction and almost without shame. This is an evil as culpable as it is wide spread, as pernicious as it is hateful.

But second marriages are occasionally contracted, chiefly when the first wife has not given birth to a son, or when her son is dead, for, to have a son who shall perform his father's funeral obsequies and thus secure peace to him and his ancestors, is the one necessity of a parent. Such unions are happily not common, and, from all we can glean, we conclude that not more than one

* The Code chap. ix 72, 73, 80, 83.

married man in fifty has a second wife * Yet the dread of such an addition being made to the establishment of her lord, seems to be the great fear of every woman, and regarded either as such a disgrace or such a calamity, that the little child is taught to pray that her husband may be satisfied with her, and never desire to take a second wife The reasons for her repugnance are very obvious and very justifiable, but it is not necessary for us to give them.

Among the Kulin Brahmins of Bengal, it is well known that polygamy is the rule, though it is a happy sign of the growth of a healthier public opinion, that the custom is now looked on by a large portion of the community as both demoralizing and unjust Mr Robinson, in the following passage delineates the main features of the custom

'When a daughter of any family is married to a Kulin Brahman, the honour of that family is increased, and there are too many parents willing to pay any price to become so illustriously allied. Except from the Shrotriyas, a favoured Brahman caste, Kulins may not legally receive wives from any families inferior to themselves But the love of money on the one side, and the lust of rank on the other, find it not impossible to agree upon terms. With virtuous exceptions, Kulins study to make the most of the estimation in which their order is held Before condescending to accept a wife, they will demand a sufficient fee, and they determine the price at which they will sell their favours, by the extent of the demand for husbands of their value, and by the amount of risk the bridegroom will incur, in the proposed alliance, of depriving his posterity of honours so advantageous to himself In other respects proudly indolent, many Kulins get more than their living by going about the country, assisted by Ghataks or professional Brahman negotiators, to show compassion to the daughters of the respectable and ambitious It is not uncommon for one Kulin to count twenty wives of his own, and a case occurred in which a lucky individual was known to be blessed with not fewer than one hundred and eighty. A large establishment for a poor man! Not exactly; for the husband in such a case, does not dream of keeping all his wives under his own roof, most of them remain with their parents or with their paternal relations Prudently fixing his abode near the richest of the families with which he is matrimonially connected, he visits the others as he finds it worth his while to do so. The wife must pay for every glimpse of her precious master She

* It is far otherwise with the Mahomedans

'may hardly afford to see him again after the day of marriage; and few and far between, in comparison with what ought to be their number are the visits welcomed by the majority of his ladies. The perplexed offspring of such unions cannot count their step-mothers and half-brothers,—know not, in fact, who they are, or where they live

'While Kulin men are in such request, the greatest difficulty is found in securing husbands for Kulin females. Not at liberty to marry into inferior grades, and commonly lacking the means necessary to purchase alliances with gentlemen of their own castes, they are out-bid and eclipsed by women, who ought to be well contented with bridegrooms of humbler rank. Frequently, on their attaining a marriageable age, their parents and themselves in extreme perplexity to avoid the condemnation of leaving them destitute of the matrimonial sacrament. In too many cases, compelled to throw themselves on the compassion of some decrepit or even dying Kulin, they are thankful when they can persuade the old man or hopeless invalid to save their family from infamy, by obligingly adding another to his long list of useless wives. And here is one secret of the terrible infanticide prevalent in the country '*

There will not probably be a single reader of these pages but who will heartily desire that this abominable and demoralising practice were brought to a speedy termination. There are but two ways by which this can be effected—by the growth of a public opinion which shall frown it into extinction, or by legislative enactment. That it will finally come to an end by the former means, if not by the latter, is certain, but we are loth to wait for the result of this process, for like all great evils in a land like this, it is very slow in dying, yet, on the other hand, there are enormous difficulties in the way of prohibitive legislation on the matter. Were Kulins alone addicted to polygamy it might more easily be dealt with, but Hindu and Mahomedan alike recognize the practice, and the latter largely adopt it. We think, however, that there is a clearly ascertainable distinction between the custom of the class and the custom of the communities. The latter base their practice on law, the former only on custom. Now we are not bound to recognize the latter where a great and pregnant evil is concerned, and since we believe it would be impossible to cite any Hindu authority of any weight in favour of Kulinism, we see no insurmountable difficulty in the way of its prohibition. Of course it would be at the option of any Kulin

* The Daughters of India, p 75-6

to marry a second wife on the ground of the sanction of Hindu law, if he could plead it

But we must pass on to notice the enforced widowhood of every woman who is unfortunate enough to lose her husband, however brief and transient may have been her union with him *. It was a noble and beneficent act to rescue widows from the possibility of immolation, but we question if it ~~has~~ been ever fully understood to what a fate it preserves them, a fate which, unhappily, legal enactment cannot touch, and which can only be destroyed by the spread of right and benevolent principles, throughout the whole of society. It is indeed easy to understand how many a woman, aware of the hard and terrible destiny which awaited her if she lived, preferred deliberately the short agonies of cremation to such a life of sorrow

She is deemed the happy woman by her sex, who dies whilst her husband lives. Even the name widow is a reproach, and few curses are so deep as the one—"may you become a widow." Such a lot is not regarded so much in the light of a misfortune, as in that of a curse, inflicted by some angry god for heavy guilt contracted by its victim in this life or in some previous birth. She is therefore condemned rather than pitied, shunned as a loathed and evil thing, rather than sympathized with. Nay, such is the frantic spirit of Hinduism, that he who helps to make her suffer, and who infuses additional sorrow into her cup, supposes that he is furthering the purposes of heaven, and working out meritoriously the designs of inexorable fate

Immediately on the death of her husband, though she be a child of eight years of age, she is divested of all her ornaments, nor can she keep them as precious memorials of the past; they pass from her possession. If they are of shell or wax they are broken, if of precious material they are sold. Henceforth, no garment of fine, coloured, or embroidered texture must be worn, but only such as are coarse. It is meritorious in her to be slovenly. A married wife delights in the plaiting of her hair, and the anointing of her person with unguents or odours, but the widow must discard all these things. She must not even lie upon a bed. Hindus are studious about their food, the most refined Parisians are not more delicate in the selection of sauces and cordials than are the wealthy here about their curries and sweetmeats. Yet the relict of

* In writing thus, we have not forgotten that as the law now stands, a widow may legally marry, but hitherto it has remained almost a dead letter. It is to the disgrace of the "enlightened" classes, that, though there are some millions of widows in India, not forty have been married since the passing of the act in 1856.

the wealthy Brahmin, as well as her poorer sister, must feed upon the coarsest and scantiest fare. She must never have more than one meal a day. Two days in the month she must maintain a strict fast. On these days she must not even moisten her mouth by swallowing her saliva. Water is forbidden her, and if she is thirsty, the Shastras advise, that she present sweetmeats and cocoanut water to a Brahmin, whose eating them will, by a large stretch of the imagination, satisfy her hunger and quench her thirst! She is forbidden to eat either fish, or animal food. The rice she uses must be of the coarsest description. She is not allowed all kinds of sweetmeats, nor must those she takes be bought in the bazaars. With a refinement of cruelty, which is fiendish for its cool inhumanity and contemptible for its punctiliousness, it is enacted, lest starved on one meal a day she should glut her appetite at other hours with sweetmeats, that she must never eat them but at her meals. She must not appear at any scene of festivity or gladness. Even to marriages she is not invited, and if, on account of proximity of relationship she does appear, she is not allowed to take a part in the ceremonies. From all this neither age, decrepitude nor delicacy of frame exempts her. 'Let the widow emaciate her body by living on roots, fruits and flowers, let her not even pronounce the name of another man after her lord is deceased, let her continue till death forgiving injuries, performing harsh duties, avoiding sensual pleasures, and practising virtue'† 'The widow shall never exceed one meal a day, nor sleep on a bed, if she do so, her husband falls from 'Swarga'‡

This hopeless, heart-crushing existence is endured literally by millions of women. The number of widows is proportionately much larger than it is in a country like England. It is exceedingly difficult to arrive at perfect accuracy among a people who invariably suspect every attempt to collect statistics, but an intelligent native writer says, 'in many families the widows considerably out-number the married women'. In endeavouring to discover the percentage of widows we received from two credible sources the following figures which of course can only be received as proximate.

Married women.	Widows	Unmarried	
60	25	15	} 100
50	30	20	

Two causes account for the large number of widows. Every girl is married before she is eleven years of age. Then we have but

† Menu

‡ The Smriti

to reflect upon the enormous mortality taking place, between the latter age and the marriageable age in English society, to observe, how enormously the probabilities of widowhood are increased, after the widest deductions are made for the decease of the gentler sex. It must too be remembered that the number of widows is never diminished by marriage. Coupled with this most deplorable and unsatisfactory state of things, there is the other fact, that there are no unmarried, adult women in India. Every widower therefore is driven, whatever may be his age, to marry a child under eleven years of age. We must take into account the enormous number of men whom death deprives of their wives, after they themselves have passed their twenty-fifth year, and, since few Hindus remain unmarried, we shall perceive the vast number of incongruous, inauspicious marriages from all these marrying only children. Thus does one folly lead on to another, and nature, violated and despised, avenges herself by the inconveniences and suffering she allows to fall upon her unthinking and unrighteous contemners.

The sorrow and the crime caused by enforced widowhood are far beyond conception. There is first of all, the humiliation and self-denial inherently associated with the state. Possibly it is lightened in many cases by a humanity which struggles against Shastrias and conventional inhumanity, but, admitting this, how dreary, desolate, hopeless and intensely wretched, must be the lot of all those myriads who are doomed to such a fate, by one of the most heartless and despotic series of laws and customs, which the wickedness and stupidity of man ever devised. We maintain that there is not a more unnecessary, and pitiless evil in the whole world than this, nor until it is swept away, can the men of India lay any claim to be considered a great and civilized people.

The difficulties and embarrassments it brings upon society are necessarily very great. A polytheistic race will never be either charitable or rich. There is a large amount of enforced almsgiving in India, but very little free, spontaneous benevolence, and even where there is Brahminical rank, there is often great poverty. Hindus and their offspring are therefore thrown upon the tender mercies of heartless, and poor relatives, and these too not their own but their husband's in most instances. The increase of domestic poverty arising from this cause alone must be very great; and the suffering and humiliation induced by dependence on those who not only look upon widows as accursed by the gods, but as an unwelcome burden upon their resources, may in some measure be imagined.

counsellors with the aid of a staff, which he appears to have used with considerable freedom, either to enforce his arguments, or perhaps to maintain discipline. One unfortunate refractory member of the Council complained that the President had inflicted on him 'two cuts on the head, the one very long and deep, the other a slight one in comparison to that, then a blow on the left arm, which has inflamed the shoulder and deprived me of the use of that limb, on the right side a blow on the ribs, which is a stoppage to my breath and makes me incapable of helping myself, on my left hip another nothing inferior to the first, but above all a cut on the brow of my eye.' This staff might also have been used, with salutary effect, in the correction of the unsteady and irregular lives and conduct of the Company's Servants of those times, for we find, the excesses of the night were betrayed by the shaky handwriting of the morning, and that gambling, and a disregard of all wholesome restraints were freely admonished by their paternal masters, who did not think it beneath their dignity to inquire into the details of the domestic arrangements of their servants, and pass imperial edicts as to the number of horses a president or a writer should keep in his stables, or drive in his conveyance, or to make the penalty of a violation of these orders dismissal from the Service.

The first great change from this abnormal condition of the Service, was caused by the conquest of Bengal. The acquisition of territory naturally transformed these merchants and tradesmen into administrators and diplomatists, but, nevertheless, the condition of the Service continued much the same as before. Pitiably small salaries were still the rule, and it cannot be a matter of surprise, that those who engaged freely in private trade to remunerate themselves, should now use the large powers, of which they suddenly found themselves possessed, for their self-aggrandizement. Lord Clive's mission of reform to India, and the efforts of Warren Hastings, the first Governor General, seconded by the Act of Parliament, which ordained that no servant of the Crown or Company should accept presents from the Princes or other inhabitants of India, tended much to restrain the cupidity of the Company's Servants, though, of course, they greatly reduced the advantages of the service, restricting the gains, with the exception of the miserable pittance in the shape of salary then allowed, to private trade. Lord Cornwallis saw clearly the anomaly of this state of things, and strove to prohibit private trade; but honest, careful, conservative John could not see the policy of spending a few more pence to gain ever so many more pounds, and halted

and vacillated till the Ministry came to his aid, and, impressed with the Indian Governor General's representations, introduced a clause in Charter Act of 1793, prohibiting the Company's Servants engaging in private trade. To raise the salaries of their Servants to such an amount as should be worthy of their high position, a fair remuneration for their important services, and a suitable compensation for the sacrifice of home and the pains of exile, soon became a necessity, and the service from that time assumed a shape and aspect which it has retained to the present day.

The commencement of the nineteenth century saw the Company still a trading body, but their character as rulers in India grew and strengthened in spite of themselves. They would fain have gone on trading in their own quiet way if they could, but imperious circumstances would not permit that, and against their will they became a great and formidable Governing Power recognized by the whole civilized world. The change necessitated a far higher order of qualification than was formerly demanded of the Company's servants, and Lord Wellesley, who was then Governor General of India, projected a College on a large scale, in order that 'the writers, on their first arrival, should be subjected for a period of two or three years to the rules and discipline of some Collegiate Institution, at the seat of Government.' Anticipating the sanction of the Court of Directors to the proposal, and fully persuaded of the advisability, nay, necessity of the measure, he at once opened the College of Fort William, which was to expand into the proportions which he had sketched for his grand project, so soon as the sanction of the Court was received. This sanction was refused, the grand scheme was laid aside; but our readers are aware that the Colleges of Fort William, Madras and Bombay, with all their important advantages, have continued till now. They continued even after a College, for the purposes contemplated by Lord Wellesley, was established in England, and served to justify his opinion, that a short training for the young writers in an educational institution, among the people with whom in public life they would have to deal, was most desirable. But the College at Haileybury was an admirable institution, and fully answered the high and practical ends for which it was established. It sent out into the world of official and political life in India, many names which add a lustre to the pages of Indian history, and we gladly accept, in its full breadth of meaning, the opinion of a writer of the day, who says, 'An abler or more honorable body of public servants has never been engaged in the administration of any country

in the world, than those who graduated at Haileybury and passed College at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay' Nor was the association at College without its advantages. Friendships formed at home in youth were matured in a distant land, a laudable emulation which may have sprung up at college, was carried with its beneficial influences, into a different sphere, characters and tastes, which were slowly forming in early association with others, grew and strengthened and became confirmed under the same individual influences in after life, and so the literary tastes acquired by the graduates of Haileybury, were indulged in at a distance from *alma mater*, much to the credit of the institution. But better than all, there was created under this system an *esprit de corps*, a tact compact and understanding among its members, which impelled them to act together to maintain the character, honor and efficiency of their exclusive service. It is quite true that, whilst Haileybury flourished, there was little change in the family names of its graduates and of the Civil list, but what of that? the efficiency of the public service was not in any way impaired by this circumstance. On the contrary, the bright examples of fathers and uncles must have stimulated the younger representatives of the name, to be their worthy and successful imitators.

But that together with these benefits there were many serious disadvantages, both in a social and official point of view, cannot be denied. The spurious aristocracy it raised in a community whose class divisions have ever been a barrier to its advancement, the assumed fitness of its members for any service whatever, to which they might be appointed, the frequent changes of office, without reference to antecedents, which the rule of gradations in rank and emolument entailed, were some of the evils which disfigured one of the finest services in the world. These defects however did not undermine its stability. John Company had become unpopular; perhaps, because he was not fully understood, but one of his most serious offences was his unlimited power and patronage. It was not to be tolerated, that so many persons, without political power or social influence, possessing no great amount of wealth, but having merely the accidental advantage of being holders of Indian Stock, should have the power to confer rank and wealth by a simple nomination to the service, which in time might raise the fortunate recipient to the Governor Generalship of British India, and to emoluments superior to any enjoyed by ministers of the Crown. The Indian reform party agitated the question in Parliament, and by the Charter Act of 1853, the

patronage of the company in the Civil and Medical services was lost to it for ever.

Whether the Competitive is an improvement upon the former system of nomination is a question which time alone can solve, the service has indeed been thrown open to all the educated youth of the United Kingdom; but it has, nevertheless, lost nothing of its exclusiveness. The most serious defect of the Competition system, however, is, that it is based on the error of confounding learning with education. ~~The~~ education and special training of Haileybury were wholly overlooked, and a certain amount of learning,—of mere scholastic knowledge—was substituted for a system of preparation, which, though it may occasionally have failed, might with reason be supposed to be the most obvious means of ensuring fitness and when we consider that the service was after the Charter act of 1853, to be supplied from all ranks and classes of the community, and remember to what perfection cramming is carried in England, we shall not be surprised to find, that, with the College at Haileybury, the pride and prestige of the Civil Service proper has passed away.

We have seen the origin and rise of the Covenanted Civil Service of the East India Company until it reached its zenith of power and importance, we have discovered what was the first parasitical plant which grew on this stately tree, and we shall find that subsequent changes will be produced by circumstances, as imperious as those under which it sprung into being and was forced into strength and maturity.

The territory of the Company had widened over the length and breadth of the land, the demand for judicial and fiscal administration had increased with the acquisition of territory, and what with expensive wars, and, perhaps, not the most scientific management of the finances of the country, the Company had been drifting for years into a very uncomfortable state of insolvency. Parliament had already determined that a Covenanted Service was essential to the efficient administration of the Government, but the Covenanted Service was deficient in strength to meet the exigencies of the state, it became necessary, therefore, to call in auxiliary aid. The first step to this end, was to demand the help of Military men for the performance of purely civil duty. Such employment was not unacceptable to those whose prospects had hitherto been confined to army rank and promotion, and the measure suited the economical views of Government.

The consequences of the measure to the Army, do not fall within the scope of our observation. But even this means of

supplying the demand for executive control, was found inadequate, and it became necessary to look still further for additional strength. The materials were found ready prepared to hand.

This important change in the aspect of the service, came on as gradually and imperceptibly as all the rest had done. From an early period in the history of the Covenanted Service we find, that native writers, who were employed, as copyists, to relieve the Covenanted officers of the drudgery of the desk, filled the Government offices. In the course of a century we see, that the advantages of employment under Government, had attracted men of superior ability into this subordinate service by slow degrees higher and higher duties were entrusted to this class of servants, until they found themselves by their intelligence, character and faithfulness, in positions of high and important executive control. The taunt of an arrogant member of the superior service, that the Uncovenanted Servants were mere hirelings, possessing no rights or privileges, and entitled to nothing beyond the wages which, as manual laborers, they had earned, being retained or dismissed at the pleasure of their Covenanted employers, was not without truth. But the Government, more just and honourable than their supercilious servant, recognized them as a Service, appointed them a status which their usefulness and ability had earned for them, and granted them privileges of leave of absence and pensions, which proved to be not only a fair and liberal concession to deserving men, but also had the effect of rendering this branch of the Service more valuable than it had been, of improving in no small measure its tone and character, and, consequently, its utility to the state. These effects were soon perceptible. Some of the important executive offices, which had been held and scrupulously retained for the superior service, fell one by one into the hands of these subordinate uncovenanted employes, till the once broad line of demarcation between the two became so faint and indistinct as to be scarcely perceptible, and several appointments were made, both at Madras and in Bengal, which those in authority who watched the interests of the more favored Service, as secured to it by law, unhesitatingly set aside. Still the demands of the country for responsible executive administration were not capable of being supplied by the exclusive Covenanted Servants, and thus it was that, with reluctance, but under the pressure of a necessity which was not to be avoided; the primary boundary lines which divided the services were removed further and further back into the territory held by the superior officers, to make way for the advancing tide of the more subordinate class of public Servants.

The appointment of an Uncovenanted officer to act as a Civil Judge in Bengal, forced the Supreme Government to pass the following orders on this point "According to Geo III, Cap. 10, 'all vacancies happening in any of the offices, places, or employments in the Civil line of the Covenanted service in India shall be, from time to time, filled up and supplied from amongst the Civil Servants of the said Company belonging to the Presidency wherein such vacancies shall respectively happen.' It might be difficult perhaps to define very precisely which are or are not included in the words 'or employments in the Civil line of the Company,' but it is quite certain that the office of Civil and Sessions Judge is included in them. A reasonable interpretation has always been put upon the words of the law, but if these words should be interpreted, as not including those offices in the regular Judicial and Revenue lines of the service which have hitherto been held only by Civil Servants of the Honorable Company, the law would be annulled altogether."

This attempt to illustrate the law, and the weak and inconclusive inferential conclusion to which the expounders of the Act arrived, only showed the difficulty which beset the question, and left it as uncertain as ever. A Commissioner was entrusted with the view to revise Civil salaries and appointments, and an elaborate minute prepared by Mr Ricketts, an attempt was made to determine precisely, what appointments should be considered as coming strictly within the meaning of the Act, and what, though once held by the Covenanted Service, should be now declared open to Uncovenanted officers; but this minute made a complicated subject still more complicated, and the suggestions it contained never received the sanction of authority.

It cannot be denied, however, that the enquiry was conducted in a liberal spirit. It was admitted, that, as the Uncovenanted Service was composed of all classes, Europeans, East Indians and Natives, fitness should be the only acknowledged claim to preference; that in defining the limits of the Covenanted and Uncovenanted rights, opportunity should be taken to enlarge the list of Uncovenanted offices, as far as might be done with justice to the claims of the Covenanted. It was contended that the fact of opening to the Uncovenanted servants, offices which had hitherto been held as the prescriptive right of the Covenanted service, would stimulate energies that were dormant from hopelessness, and raise up a large number of competitors, fully qualified for any duties with which Government might be willing to entrust them; and the effect of these suggestions was shown to be,

that the services of none but fully qualified persons would be secured, and that the resources of the country would be greatly improved, since it was not intended to remunerate the Uncovenanted according to the standard of salary allowed to the Covenanted servants. But whilst it was the intention to reduce the salary of these Covenanted appointments when held by Uncovenanted servants, it was contended, not without some show of reason, that the salary of an appointment, whatever it might be, should be the same for a European and Native, as either might be appointed to it. The correctness of this opinion may be doubtful. Although it may be admitted, that it is not fair, it is injudicious that the same duties and responsibilities should carry with them different salaries, a higher remuneration to a European and a lower one to a Native, yet, speaking, the value of labour must be regulated by the price of the commodity in the market. If one man can sell his services for a good profit on a lower scale than another, it is difficult to understand the policy of appointing an equal allowance to both, when the consequence of such unnatural equality is over-liberality to one, and only common justice and fairness to the other. It may be difficult to adjust salaries, in exact proportion to the claims of the different classes of a heterogeneous service, but it is, nevertheless, a problem which will, no doubt, admit of some kind of solution.

The concluding paragraph of Mr. Ricketts' note, explains the practical results to which his enquiry tended. He says — 'The steps necessary in this matter,' namely the revision of civil salaries and appointments, 'are, first, the revision of the list and the transfer of every office, or class of offices which it may be considered right to reserve for the Covenanted service, to the *exclusively Civil*;' secondly, the modification of *Regulation III. Cap 16*, which rules that all vacancies happening in any offices, places or employments in the Civil line of the Company's Service in India, being under the degree of Councillor, shall be from time to time filled up and supplied from amongst the Civil Servants of the said Company belonging to the Presidency wherein such vacancies shall respectively happen, and the enumeration of the offices which shall be *exclusively filled* by Covenanted Servants, and shall not be bestowed on any other class except on temporary emergencies when Covenanted officers will not be available, and thirdly, should the doctrine of payment according to race prevail, a declaration of the per centage by which the salaries now adjusted shall be decreased when an office may be bestowed on

‘ a person of European descent born in India, or an East Indian, or a Christian Native, or a Hindoo or a Mahomedan Native ’

It was not to be concealed that the Uncovenanted Service had now risen in importance, and become an element more than ever useful in the administration of the State, and at this particular juncture, steps were taken to improve and confirm their advantage. They memorialized the Home Government, with the sanction it is believed of the local authorities, with a view to a reconsideration of the regulations under which they were placed, relative to leave of absence and ultimate retirement from the Service. This was a most judicious movement, and the prayer of the petition was reasonable and moderate, and supported by arguments and representations, which those even, whose interests were antagonistic to the memorialists, were unable to impugn. The memorial embraced three leading points, and they were such as it was believed the Government would be willing to consider. *First* That the bar be removed which, by law, (Act 33 Geo. III) excludes Uncovenanted Servants, whatever might be their merits or special qualifications, from holding offices heretofore reserved for the Covenanted Service. *Secondly* That the rules for leave of absence be relaxed, and *Thirdly*. That the period of service qualifying for pension should be reduced.

With respect to the first of these, it cannot be a matter of surprise that the service which gained a certain amount of consideration as mere copyists, and when the only qualification required of it was penmanship, should look for higher privileges when in the course of a century they had risen to fill offices of high trust. They were now beginning to stand side by side with the members of the Covenanted Service in the executive administration of the country, and Government had already admitted them to occupy a certain position within the limits of the disputed official territory, which by law was to be held by the Covenanted Service alone. The demand of the Government for executive officers had forced them to employ uncovenanted Agency, until the proportion of Uncovenanted to Covenanted officers in only the Judicial and Revenue lines, was found in Bengal to be as 402 to 163, in the North Western Provinces as 363 to 121; with a still greater preponderance of Uncovenanted Servants in the Punjab, and the presidencies of Madras and Bombay. The Memorialists did not ask for equal rights with the Covenanted Service, but only for advantages superior to those which had long ago been conceded to themselves as recognized public servants; they solicited that those of them ‘ who had passed through a term of approved service in India should not solely

' by virtue of a system,' and a law, unsuited to the present age, be passed over when qualified and worthy to be promoted to offices, hitherto reserved exclusively for members of the Covenanted service. There was a fear, perhaps, that if the land-marks, which divided the Covenanted from the Uncovenanted service, were altered according to the petition, the absence of any definite rule of admission into the Uncovenanted service would open the door to the exercise of patronage, and to the abuse of the power which the measure would place in the hands of the local Governments, and that nepotism would inundate India with incompetents from home. But the forethought of the Memorialists led them to fence round the prayer with conditions, which would secure a well earned advantage to themselves, and yet render any abuse of power or patronage an impossibility. 'The prayer of your Memorialists is on behalf of the Uncovenanted officers of *appointed service only*, whose able and faithful discharge of important duties must, in many cases be a better test of qualification for responsible office, than scholastic attainments alone.' This clause not only shows how the admission into the hitherto exclusive offices might be secured to men best qualified to fill them, so that the interests of Government should be subserved, but it also suggests that, looking to those interests, it is wiser to employ men of practical experience, of tried and proved fitness, than, for the sake of merely supporting a weakened oligarchy and the faded prestige of a once powerful body, to entrust important offices to those whose scholastic attainments might be admitted, but whose assumed fitness lies in the fact of their being members of the superior service.

In considering different systems, we are apt to assume opposite conditions without sufficient proof. But it must not be supposed, because men of superior scholastic attainments have been admitted into the Covenanted service under the competition system, that its members, under the former *regime* were deficient in such accomplishments, or that the Uncovenanted service are wholly wanting in intellectual culture. The higher advantages now opening out to the last service, have attracted to it gentlemen of education, which, under more fortunate circumstances, would have placed them on an equal footing with their more favored brethren, and there is no question, that the number of such will increase with the gradual improvements which may be anticipated. The most that can be said of the competitive system is, that the mental discipline which is necessary to arrive at eminence in scholastic attainments, would probably stand in good stead in the application of the mind to the business of life,

but in this system the adoption of suitable means to a specific end is wholly wanting. Clever lads who have shone in Classics or Mathematics, or have been well crammed for examination in the Sciences, are pushed into positions of administrative importance, or Executive control, and expected to succeed by virtue of their mathematical or classical training. Now, without referring to the natural tendency of the mind to relax its efforts when the object for which its strength was put forth has been attained, there is obviously no preparation in this system for the work to be performed. No sort of provision is made for that training which Lord Wellesley contemplated when he proposed a College for young writers in the heart of their future labors, or better still for that preparation for the higher duties of office which the Uncovenanted Service acquire by a familiar practical acquaintance with the various branches of the administration, through means of the early and systematic performance of their subordinate duties.

To return to the Memorial. The two other petitions it contains are, for the relaxation of the existing rules for Leave of Absence for the Uncovenanted Service, which were felt to be unnecessarily stringent, and for a reduction in the period of service qualifying for pension, which was considered too long. The rules for leave of absence for the Covenanted Service, provide for sick leave for a period of three years consecutively, the absentees retaining their appointments for two years. For the first two years of absence they draw half pay, not exceeding £1,000 nor less than £500 per annum, and for the third year £500 are allowed to officers of 10 years' standing, and £250 to those below 10 years. The rules for the Uncovenanted Service also allow three years sick leave in all, but only two years can be consecutive, and before a second leave is granted, a service of two years is necessary. The pay on leave, is half the amount of salary for the first year, not exceeding £600 per annum, and one third of salary after that period. The Uncovenanted Service do not petition for an extension of the period of leave, they are satisfied to have, like the Covenanted Service, three years sick leave during the whole term of service, nor do they ask for any modification of the allowances already granted to them during such absence. All they want is, that the three years leave may be available at one term or by instalments, as it may be required, and the prayer is not unreasonable. There can be no practical good in making it difficult for a servant to obtain temporary rest from his labor under certain general limits, whenever ill health may compel him to seek repose, and the pecuniary loss which

the measure entails, will be a sufficient safeguard against a resort to it on small grounds.

In respect to Furlough, the Covenanted Service are allowed three years, available by instalments after certain periods of service, vacating their Offices, with pay during absence of £500 a year. The Uncovenanted Service are now allowed one year without pay during the whole course of their service, and such absence does not reckon as service. Seeing that the Service is receiving daily accessions from a class to whom furlough is as great a benefit as to the Covenanted Service it is not surprising that the memorialists should pray for two years furlough, on one third salary. It is intended that this privilege shall be fully and fairly earned. They ask that the first grant shall not be made until after 10 years service, and the second not until after a further service of five years, but that after fifteen years of unbroken service furlough should be granted for two years continuously. The present rules of the Uncovenanted Service, in respect to leave on Private Affairs, are the same as those which apply to the Covenanted Service, namely, six months in every six years on half pay, with this difference, that the half pay of the Uncovenanted service is restricted to £600 a year as a maximum. The leave of absence which counts as service in respect to the Covenanted Servant are four years in all—three of furlough and one of sick leave—besides absence on privilege leave and on private affairs. The Uncovenanted Service may, under present rules, claim as service two years of sick leave, besides privilege leave, and leave on private affairs, but with exemplary magnanimity the memorialists give up the advantage of reckoning absence on sick leave as service, and ask to retain this concession only for the period passed on privilege and casual leave. The expediency of foregoing an advantage already yielded by Government, may, perhaps, be questioned, but it affords a proof of the spirit of earnestness and moderation which characterizes the movement. The memorialists also propose, that the present rules be retained for special and privilege leave, which are much the same as those which apply to the Covenanted Service, privilege leave of 1, 2 or 3 months consecutively being granted to both branches of the service, after 11, 22 or 33 months of actual service.

There is no direct analogy between the two branches of the Civil Service in respect to retiring pensions. The members of the Covenanted service quit the service on an annuity purchased by monthly deductions from their salaries, a moiety of the purchase money being contributed by the State, whilst the Uncovenanted Servants retire on a certain

rate of pension granted as a free gift by Government after certain terms of approved service. The conditions at present are, a pension of $\frac{1}{2}$ pay to judicial officers, and officers in the educational Department, after 15 years service under Medical Certificate, and after 20 years to all other Uncovenanted officers. On half pay on Medical Certificate to judicial and educational officers after twenty-two years' service, and to all other Uncovenanted servants after 30 years' service. And a retiring pension of $\frac{1}{2}$ pay to all Uncovenanted officers without Medical Certificate after 35 years' service. Liberal as these concessions are, the protracted terms of service to constitute qualification, greatly diminish their value, and often reduce the prospect of the Uncovenanted servant, to toil and labor unbroken and unrelenting, for life. The prayer of the Memorial therefore is, that all sections and departments of the Uncovenanted service should be brought under one uniform code of rules, that service before the age of 21 years shall not reckon as qualifying for pension, and that the period passed on leave of every sort, except casual and privilege, shall also be excluded. This ground work being established, the Memorialists ask for $\frac{1}{2}$ pay after 15 years' service under Medical Certificate for half pay after 22 years' service under Medical Certificate, and for a retiring pension of half pay without Medical Certificate after 25 years' service.

The same spirit of moderation which characterized the other petitions of the Memorial is apparent in the prayers relating to Retiring Pensions. This will be admitted when the effects on both mind and body from sustained, hard, active service, frequently combined with severe mental exertion, in a depressing and often sickly tropical climate are considered. In order that undue advantage should not be taken of the privilege of retirement after 25 years, in a service not strictly guided by rules for admission, it is provided that service to reckon for pension shall not commence till the age of 21 years, so that no servant could possibly retire, unless disabled from sickness, till the age of forty-six and then after active service of a full quarter of a century, in the trying and wasting climate of India. But after all it is an advantage placed within the grasp of the few only who might be able to accept it. It is reasonable to suppose that many will continue in the service after they are entitled by rule, to pension. The pleasures of retirement are not to be compared to the advantages of full pay to men whose expensive private and family responsibilities have grown up around them with their increasing means, to maintain which retirement allowances are wholly inadequate; necessity could alone

excuse the sacrifice of income which retirement would entail, and if such necessity did really exist, it would be cruelty to refuse an indulgence purchased at so severe a cost. These remarks apply with still greater force to retirement on Medical Certificate.

The liberality with which the Christian portion of the Uncovenanted Service, who are the chief promoters of this movement, have admitted their native brethren into full participation with themselves, in the advantages they propose, is highly commendable and worthy of special remark.

Equal legislation demands perfect similarity of condition. No system of jurisprudence, no efforts of the most philanthropic statesman can force things into a state of equality which are essentially unequal. The process of raising the inferior to the level of the superior class must be gradual, at the same time it is impossible to depress the superior class without humiliating it and producing the most disastrous consequences to both. The process of assimilation may be promoted, by extending the privilege of the higher to the lower order, which they may by degrees improve to their own benefit; but not by violently conferring equal rights, powers and privileges to all alike, which, in effect, would place the inferior in a position of unnatural and unmerited relative elevation above the superior order. In the Uncovenanted Service, as in the community at large, there is an admixture of the Anglo-saxon and the native. To place both on an equal footing, as to pay and emoluments, would be to give the native an advantage over the Christian, to put the one at once in a condition of affluence, whilst dooming the other to a far more protracted term of servitude, for it is impossible to deny the correctness of the opinion of the Sudder Court of Madras, that 'it is not too much to compute the value of a rupee to a native at three times what it is to an European.' There is, as has been said, an essential difference of condition in such a case, which defies the application of the principles of equality, without palpable injustice to the higher and better order. But when we turn to the privileges and advantages which the Uncovenanted, as a service, seek, these distinctions and differences of condition vanish, and all may equitably stand on a common platform. There is a self-adjusting principle in the measure, which will operate to adapt the rules to the conditions of every individual member of the service. Nothing is forced, one does not get more than another, or more than he actually requires, but certain privileges are placed within the reach of all alike, and those alone who want them, will avail themselves of them. Why should not a native, actuated by a spirit of laudable

ambition, equally with the European, who may be drawn by family ties and home associations, visit England on furlough, if he can? Or why should Government exact more than the service of a quarter of a century from a native, before he is permitted to retire on half pay, simply because he is a native? If he can labor on in the country of his birth, and amidst all his social ties and connections beyond that period, it is very certain he will do so, and if he cannot, there is no reason why he should not be set at liberty with the proportion of the privileges conceded to the service, which, by a faithful discharge of duty, he may have earned for himself. It is in this principle that the inferior orders, by sharing in, and improving for themselves the advantages of the superior classes, become assimilated to and amalgamated with them.

The Uncovenanted Service may congratulate itself on the prospects which are opening out before it. The blow struck at the patronage of the Covenanted Service, the financial exigencies of the State, and the large demands of the Executive Administration caused by the extension of territory, and the gradual introduction of English institutions into the country, have done for it what no efforts of its own could have accomplished. They have brought about changes which, thirty years ago, would have startled and paralyzed the nerves of the hardiest, and most easy going East Indian Uncovenanted servant, if he could have seen them in all their present magnitude and reality.

The opportunity is not to be lost. The better portion of the Uncovenanted Service need not now expect to drudge on in obscurity in the lower ranks. Ability must show itself and rise to the surface. The demands of the Executive Administration which are great must be supplied, and in no direction can the authorities look to supplement the Covenanted Service with such assurance of success, as to the subordinate cognate service, the training of whose members in official details fits them for the higher appointments of executive control.

The demand will create the supply. The concessions sought for in the Memorial if granted will attract men of superior ability, and it is quite within the range of probability that, as the early writers of the Covenanted service rose to fill the highest posts under Government, so the mere copyists, the first representatives of the Uncovenanted Service, may find themselves, in time, occupying positions in the administration of the State, the attainment of which they now view with incredulity, not perhaps unmixed with a feeling of awe at the important trusts, and large responsibilities which they will entail.

We have seen the rise and progress of the Civil Service, we have observed how their originally contracted and limited plans gave way to circumstances, which, unlooked for and undesired, made them masters of an Empire. This mighty Empire has now passed into more legitimate hands, and the great and powerful Oligarchy is dissolved. It is dissolved, but, with trifling changes, the Government and administration of the Company still remain, to undergo revolutions still more surprising perhaps, than any that have yet befallen them. The powerful institution, by means of which the Company worked out its plans, the Covenanted Civil Service also remains, but its patronage is gone, its prestige dimmed. True, it is still a close and exclusive service, but every day we find new avenues opening to admit strangers within its sacred enclosure, and behold profane feet treading the charmed circle. The past official history of India is replete with interest and instruction, but what has been, affords no clue to what is yet to come

ART VIII — *Report to the Secretary of State for India in Council on Railways in India, for the year 1860-61, by Juland Danvers, Esq., Secretary Railway Department, India Office 1st May 1861*

THIS is the second report that has emanated from the able Home Secretary to the Railway Department, and it certainly draws public attention to the important subject, on which it treats, in a very popular manner. Mr Danvers seems to be a great master of figures, a most perfect statistician. It is curious also to observe the careful manner, in which he obeys the mandates of the people of old, who said to their prophets 'Prophecy unto us smooth things'. We who had all been for months under the belief, that 'our railways' were on the eve of being left to the mercy of the winds and rains, and the shareholders, who always seem to live under a dread of some repudiation as to the interest of their money, are cheered by Mr Danvers' able statement, breathe freely, and wonder, why the public do not rush to the Stock Exchange and buy their shares for double their real value, that value being just what they will fetch. We open the report and turn twenty-eight pages over, one after the other, and feel dazzled at the mass of figures, met with at every page. Each paragraph seems to lead to another, of greater interest. Thousands of pounds and millions of rupees are talked about in a manner that, at first, seems reckless, but, which upon mature consideration, may be seen to lead to real knowledge of our financial state in reference to railways. We are early informed, that at last, Government at Home has stopped the guarantee system, and liberally paid the Oude Railway Company £12,166 0s 5d, *with interest*, and we hope in exchange, something has been given to Government that may turn up to the advantage, of the local Oude Railway Company. Then we find, notwithstanding Sir C Wood's statement in the House of Commons, the intentions of the Government of India, have been carried out, and the following important lines are abandoned, or more mildly putting it, postponed.

These are the lines, from

Allahabad to Jubbulpore	227
Delhi to Lahore	240
Sholapore to Bellary	183

Total miles postponed	...	650
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We are consoled however by being told that 'the extent of line 'now in course of execution is 2,931½ miles, of which 1,353½ miles 'will probably be opened during the present year. In 1862 'almost all the rest will, it is expected, be finished, including the 'great trunk line from Calcutta to Delhi.' All we can say in reference to this bright picture is, it is a consummation most devoutly to be wished for. We have our misgivings. Even Mr Danvers in para 10, honestly states that 'some very formidable 'works have yet to be finished, which necessarily involve risk of 'delay.'

The advantage of Indian Railways to England is clear, from the statement in para 12, that during the past year 231,710 tons of materials, costing £2,110,703 were despatched to this country. Add to this the enormous sum of £36,015 as pay of Directors and Engineers *in England*, and we have £2,176,718, but if we turn to page 10 we find 'amount expended by Railway Companies 'in England, between 1st of May 1860 and 30th April 1861, '£2,425,478,' so that we have the large sum of £248,760 unaccounted for. The particulars would stand as in Table I at page 392.

Now we are not prepared for a moment to assume, that these enormous unaccounted for sums, have been spent by the Directors and their friends in dinners at Greenwich and Blackheath, but some explanation is required. Notwithstanding the statement of Mr Danvers that 351,317½ stood 'to credit of Companies 30th April 1861 (partly estimated)' that gentleman's own figures on the same page show that the Railway Companies, were £236,098 behind the world. Thus

Amount to credit of Companies 30 April 1860—	2 212,406	
Amount raised up to 30 April 1861	5,811 974	
		8,051,380
Per Contra Expended in England	2,425,478	
— in India	4,129,872	
— in India (by estimate)	1,735,128	
		8,290,478
Deficiency—		236,098
Add advance paid 22 from Gov.		682,000
		£ 918,008
Due from Railway Companies 30th April 1861		

The unaccounted expenditure in England, has curious features about it. The Punjab Company procures 24,106 Tons while the East India Company has 56,448 Tons of materials, and yet, the unaccounted for expenditure is relatively £55,819 against

OUR RAILWAYS

TABLE I

Railway Company	Value of Material	House and Engineering in England	Total	Expended in England	Not accounted for in Report.
	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d
East Indian,	580,357 0 0	7,800 0 0	588,387 0 0	58,101 0 0	47,714 0 0
Madras,	280,842 0 0	4,600 0 0	801,442 0 0	334,590 0 0	33,148 0 0
Great Indian Peninsula,	236,334 12 0	4,750 0 0	241,114 0 0	340,997 0 0	99,883 0 0
Bombay and Baroda,	335,067 12 3	5,115 0 0	340,782 12 3	344,991 0 0	4,208 7 9
Scinde,	20,582 6 3	2,900 0 0	28,782 6 3	33,918 0 0	5,135 13 9
Punjab,	241,210 11 5	2,900 0 0	242,410 11 5	236,230 0 0	55,819 7 7
Indus Steam Flotilla,	17,215 0 2	1,000 0 0	18,215 0 2	26,985 0 0	7,869 19 10
Great Southern of India,	118,578 1	3,000 0 0	121,578 16 1	129,867 0 0	8,293 3 11
Calcutta and South Eastern,	74,174 4 4	2,100 0 0	76,274 4 4	42,267 0 0	34,007 4 4
Eastern Bengal,	213,688 0 0	3,250 0 0	216,938 0 0	238,432 0 0	21,496 0 0
Totals	2,140,703 2 6	36,015 0 0	2,176,718 2 6	2,425,478 0 0	317,574 17 2

* Thus is curious, as the expenditure for material is much in excess of the total statement

£17,714, and more strange still, the Great Indian Peninsula has only 25,971 Tons and its unexplained expenditure is nearly £100,000. The Bombay and Baroda having purchased 32,980 Tons, has only £1,208 unaccounted for. We are quite unable to explain, and must leave to the ingenuity of our readers the solution of these discrepancies. It is a curious question to ask, if the progress be made in the Indian Railway System, that is contemplated for 1861-62 1862-63, what is to become of the English establishments now costing nearly £40,000 per annum? It has been said, that in olden times, Railway Directors turned cab-drivers. A note of warning has evidently been sounded, for we read that a reduction of £500 ~~has~~ been made. When once a line is opened in this Country, what is wanted with Boards of Directors and consulting Engineers? and if in 1861-65 the expenditure of all the Companies in England will only amount to £100,000, the establishment at their present rate would cost 30 per cent. The Directors may try and keep alive the idea of their being required for extensions, but if we mistake not, the guarantee system has exhausted itself. It has moreover worked so badly in many ways, that in India it has few friends; as may be seen by the fact, that out of the £35,000,000 raised for Indian Railways, only £669,000 has been subscribed in India, and of that we may say, not a tenth is by ~~native~~ Capitalists. So far as the majority of the Railway Officers in India are concerned, we believe they are indifferent as to whether they serve a Company or Government. We know of some good men of the Engineer Staff having endeavoured to obtain an exchange to the Public Works Department, as for non-professional men, they care for little beside their monthly stipends. We may state here, that the amount of capital which it has been thought prudent not to subscribe for abandoned lines, is £7,500,000. We give in page 394 a statement showing the Estimated Expenditure on Railways during the year 1861—1862 in England and in India. This statement gives us some information that may be new even to the highest authorities in India. It explains the sums advanced by Government to various Companies who were unable to raise funds. The account stands thus —

	£
Madras . . .	250,000
Scinde . . .	18,000
Bombay and Baroda . . .	364,000
Calcutta and South Eastern . . .	20,000
Total	682,000

TABLE II

RAILWAY COMPANY	AMOUNTS WHICH IT IS ESTIMATED IN INDIA WILL BE ADVANCED BY GOVERNMENT		Amount required for England	Total	BALANCES PARTLY ESTIMATED ON THE 30TH APRIL 1861				Amount which can be raised by calls	Amount to be raised by (Companies or lent by the Government)	
	Rupees.	Amounts debited to the (Railway companies in Pounds			£	£	£	To the credit of the Companies			To the debit of the Companies
East Indian Bengal,	20,000,000	1,893,393	414,650	3,055,841	225,000		£	36,000	2,794,841		
North Western Provinces,	8,813,000	807,858									
Madras,	7,628 000	689,050	410,743	1,109,793	250,000			Nil	1,359,793		
Great Indian Peninsula,	13 800,000	1 246 065	407,000	1,682,832	369,000			800,000	483,832		
Scinde,	1,950,000	178,750	38 200	211,950				Nil	259,950		
Indus Flotilla,	700,000	64,166	28 000	90,583	8,500			Nil	82,083		
Punjab,	2,405,212	220 477	121,200	341,677	350,000			350,000	Nil		
Bombay and Baroda,	5,400,000	495,000	100,000	595,000				25,700	933 300		
Eastern Bengal	4,400,000	403 333	168,316	571 649	72,000			124,000	357,649		
Calcutta and South Eastern,	1,000,000	91,668	28,800	124,633				Nil	144,633		
Great Southern of India,	1 285,000	117,791	23,267	141 058	4,000			25 000	112 058		
Total	67,179,212	6,158,089	1,788,176	7,905 016	1,028,500	682 000		1,360,700	6,546,139		

This £682,000 was advanced out of the loan of three millions, borrowed at the close of the last session of Parliament for the Railways, so that there must have been a balance of £2,318,000, which, with the five millions now borrowed, leaves at the disposal of Government £7,318,000, and as the total expenditure anticipated during 1861-62 is £8,000,000 the Companies need only raise £682,000, but we anticipate some of the Companies will try to raise their own funds, and will probably succeed to the following extent

Company	By Calls	By Debentures
East Indian	36,000	2,791,841
Great Indian Peninsula	800,000	488,832
Eastern Bengal	124,000	357,619
Southern of India	25,000	112,058
Punjaub	350,000	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1,335,000	3,718,380
		1,335,000

Total that will be raised by Railway Companies.	}	5,083,380
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We do not think we are too sanguine in anticipating that this amount will be obtained perhaps the East Indian, may require a short loan, to enable them to make their financial arrangements, but Glynn & Co, Prescott & Co, Bevan & Co, Smith, Payne & Co and several other large banks are known to have large accumulations of Indian Bond interest, belonging to their constituents, which will find investment in the East Indian Line. With this contemplated assistance, Government will only have to supply £2,916,620 out of the £7,318,000 which we have clearly shown, is now unappropriated, leaving a balance of £4,401,380; and with Mr Laing's financial statement, showing our income equal to our expenditure, what use, we would ask, is to be made of this most useful sum of money? It has long been the wish of the Government of India to make its own Railways, and it would appear that some of this money might at once be applied for the purpose. Some tramways in Calcutta, some railroads in Oude and Rohilcund have long been under consideration, some systematic net-work of metalled roads, and notwithstanding the bountiful supply of rain with which we have this season been blessed, special irrigation works might be assisted. At least, we hope Government will use the money for the country's good.

We have pointed out some very extraordinary things in Mr Danvers' report, which require explanation, and, no doubt, they will be attended to; but we are certain that the Secretary is fully justified in taking the cheering view he does of our future in reference to Railways. Some Companies indeed are helplessly insolvent, particularly the Madras, and the Bombay and Baroda, and perhaps some lines, when opened, will cause great disappointment, and give rise to a line of action little expected at present. Yet our Railway system must be extended and there appears little doubt the English Parliament will be glad to assist us if necessary. One most serious matter to the Government and the Shareholders is the Guaranteed Interest, and we confess we were much startled at the statement, showing the amount of Guaranteed Interest paid to the Railway Companies up to the 31st December last. We can conceive nothing, more likely, to give confidence to Shareholders than such a statement, and we are much obliged to Mr. Danvers for his concise compilation, which we have in Table III.

TABLE III

COMPANIES	Interest paid to 31st Dec 1859, England and India	INTEREST PAID IN 1860			Total amount of interest paid to 31st December 1860
		England	India	Total	
	£	£	£	£	£
East Indian,	2,069,189	666,870		666,870	2,736,059
Eastern Bengal,	29,841	25,703	.	25,703	55,544
Calcutta and South Eastern,	5,320	8,722	-	8,722	14,042
Madras,	563,116	214,976	.	214,976	778,092
Great Southern of India,	5,466	13,703		13,703	19,169
Great Indian Peninsula,	909,471	289,747	8,610	298,357	1,207,828
Bombay and Baroda,	137,970	93,906	476	94,412	232,412
Baroda,	105,450	53,469	501	53,970	159,420
Punjab,	40,323	33,180	.	33,180	73,403
Indus Steam Flotilla,	11,171	12,569		12,569	23,740
Totals	3,877,217	1,412,905	9,587	1,422,492	5,299,709

The annual earnings of the Railways, on the 30th June 1860 amounted to about £318,310. Those for the year ending 30th June next, may probably amount to £400,000 which will be set off against the sum to be paid by Government for the guarantee. The Report also gives the number of Shareholders of Indian Railway Stock as 17,118 in 1860, while the year before, the number of Shareholders was 15,224, so that there has been an increase of one thousand eight hundred and ninety four, 538 among the larger, that is, those holding more than the value of £1,000, and 1,356 among the smaller proprietors holding less than £1,000. The share capital, in the same period, had increased from £22,920,000 to £25,887,057.

Having taken this happy review of the financial position of the Railway Companies, as laid down by Mr Danvers, we will turn to the "Traffic" operations of the three Companies, viz, East Indian, Great Indian Peninsula and Madras. Without particularizing the traffic of each line, we will content ourselves by giving the 'Statements,' relating to the combined traffic of the three Railways, which will be found in pp. 398, 399 and 400.

We make no apology for giving these 'Statements,' as their value, is undoubted, and they are not obtainable in this country, they lead us also to a real knowledge of the steady advancement of the Railway System. It is pleasant to observe how every thing is on the increase. While, however, the three main lines give us hopes of future well-doing, the Home Secretary honestly gives us a picture less promising, in the details of the Bombay and Baroda Line, where upon 29 miles, which cost about £500,000 the traffic of twenty one weeks produced £609 19s profit or about £1508 per annum instead of 25,000£. But, in this case, as in all others, where the features of the calculation may be very disheartening, Mr Danvers comes forward with some encouraging explanation, and he says

'In February last, 49 miles of the Bombay and Baroda Railway were opened for traffic, but, inasmuch as both ends of the line terminated on the opposite sides of the rivers to the towns which the Railway is to connect, the traffic was commenced under very disadvantageous circumstances, and was confined almost entirely to passenger traffic. The results, therefore, can form no criterion of what the traffic will be when the Railway is carried across the Taptee and Nurbudda Rivers. The Bridge over the former is now completed, and trains are running over it. The latter will, it is expected, be in the same position in June next'—In reference to the ratio of working expences to receipts on the East Indian Line, we learn the

STATEMENT No 1.

Statement showing the General Traffic Operations of the three Railways combined, for the years 1859-1860.

Year ending 30th June	Miles open	RAILWAY	NUMBER OF PASSENGERS.				Receipts from Passengers	Receipts from Merchandise	Receipts for Railway Materials	Total	Working Expenses	Net Profits
			1st class	2nd class	3rd class	Total						
1860	723	{ 389 East Indian, 287 Great Indian Peninsula, 137 Madras.	{ 83,792			254,212	3,549,324	3,837,324	228,841	208,661	62,826	303,180
1859	433					176,898	2,516,583	2,722,982	157,431	108,286	56,709	195,300
		Increase of year 1860 over year 1859	4,819			77,386	1,032,737	1,114,942	69,410	128,376	6,116	107,880

STATEMENT No 2.

Statement showing the number of Passengers per mile in the three Railways, during the years ending 30th June 1859 and 1860

Year ending	On the East Indian	On the Great Indian Peninsula	On the Madras	Average on the three Railways.
30th June 1860	10,338	4,359		7,044
" 1859	9,661	5,987		6,528

STATEMENT No 3

Statement showing the Proportion per cent. of Passengers contributed per mile by each of the three companies, during the years 30th June 1859 and 1860

Year ending	East Indian	Great Indian Peninsula	Madras
30th June 1860	49.9	20.0	30.1
" 1859	48.6	41.2	10.2

STATEMENT No 4

Statement showing the Proportion per cent. of Passengers conveyed in each class, by the three companies combined, during the years 1859 and 1860.

Year ending	1st class.	2nd class	3rd class.
30th June 1860	0.8	6.4	92.8
" 1859	1.2	6.2	92.6

STATEMENT No 5

Statement showing the Total Receipts, Working Expenses, and Net Profits of the three Railways for the years 1858-59 and 1859-60

YEAR ENDING	RECEIPTS FROM PASSENGERS				RECEIPTS FROM MERCHANDIZE				RECEIPTS FOR RAILWAY MATERIALS			
	East Indian	Great Indian Peninsula	Madras	Total	East Indian	Great Indian Peninsula	Madras	Total	East Indian	Great Indian Peninsula	Madras	Total
30th June 1860	£ 118,647	£ 72,747	£ 35,148	£ 226,542	£ 174,881	£ 81,267	£ 40,513	£ 296,661	£ 25,287	£ 27,111	£ 205,605	£ 528,998
" 1859	£ 73,947	£ 60,785	£ 22,209	£ 157,031	£ 71,980	£ 67,079	£ 39,246	£ 168,245	£ 21,525	£ 29,211	£ 611,709	£ 832,425
Increase of year 1860 over year 1859.	£ 44,500	£ 11,962	£ 13,149	£ 69,811	£ 102,901	£ 24,188	£ 1,267	£ 128,376	£ 3,712	£ 1,900	£ 4,578	£ 134,856

Working Expenses

Year ending	East Indian	Great Indian Peninsula	Madras	Total working Expenses	Total Profits
30th June 1860	£ 146,636	£ 106,796	£ 28,716	£ 283,148	£ 303,180
" 1859	£ 103,616	£ 67,491	£ 17,953	£ 187,065	£ 195,360
Increase of year 1860 over year 1859	£ 43,020	£ 39,305	£ 11,758	£ 96,083	£ 107,820

curious fact, that that ratio was lowest, in 1857, the year of the mutiny, it has since risen to more than it was in 1856. The Directors of the Great Indian Peninsula do not give so elaborate a statement, contenting themselves with saying that the ratio in 1859 was 58.3 and in 1860 it was 60.5. The Madras likewise represents the ratio in 1859 as 53.5 and in 1860 as 58.7. Whatever may be the bad features of any particular case, or whatever general cause of mistrust there may be, the Home Secretary's Report, may be found some help and comfort, to encourage all to look forward to a happy termination. In reference to the "General Traffic Results" he says

'Although these statements exhibit satisfactory results as regards increased traffic, and indicate an improved policy with respect to the regulation of fares and the adaptation of the Railways to the peculiar circumstances of the country, their remunerative powers cannot safely be determined until the lines are completed from end to end, and are in fair working order. The East Indian may be taken as an example. Calculations have hitherto been made on the assumption that the cost would be about £12,000 a mile, but it is now estimated that it will be upwards of £16,000 a mile, so that, instead of a revenue of £802,950, to produce a profit of five per cent, there must be a revenue of £1,100,000. Judgment must, accordingly, be suspended until all the materials for calculation are attainable. But advertent to the increase of traffic that has already taken place on the broken sections of line which have been opened from time to time, and to the average amount of working expences, which will probably be further gradually reduced by the employment of native skill and labor, and by the use of native fuel, there is good ground for the hope that the increase in the original estimate of their cost will not prevent them from being remunerative.'

Captain Stanton, consulting Engineer to the Government of Bengal enables Mr Danvers and ourselves to state, 'that out of 3,112,500 passengers, five have been killed. One, on the East Indian, was a syce in charge of Government Horses, who, sitting in a dangerous position, was knocked off the carriage, and received injuries which caused his death. The other four were travelling on the Great Indian Peninsula, when five carriages were thrown off the line in consequence of a bridge giving way.' Considering the difficulties to be overcome in organizing an efficient traffic management, we think the result most satisfactory and commendable, the result bears comparison, to its advantage, with the earlier days of Railway management in England. From an old number of the *Quarterly Review*, we find that

'within the year 1843, seventy railroads, constructed at an outlay of £60,000,000 have conveyed 25,000,000 passengers 330,000,000 miles, at the average cost of $1\frac{1}{2}$ a mile and with but one fatal passenger accident'—But by this calculation each passenger need only have travelled 10 miles, or a little more, and though we have not the united train run of the Indian Lines placed before us, we are, from our knowledge, entitled to assume, that each passenger on an average travels half the length of any line he proceeds upon, and so we find 3,112,500 passengers travelled 1,123,612,500 miles, and assuming, as in England, there had been 25,000,000 passengers, they would have travelled more than 9,000,000,000 miles and would have admitted of upwards of 30 deaths, while five deaths for the distance, run only just exceeds the result in the early days of Railway travelling in England.—To draw a comparison of the number of passengers 'killed and injured' in the Indian and English Series without a statement of the miles run, seems unfair in the extreme, for the greater number of miles passed over by the passengers must increase the risk. Mr. Danvers informs us that the average number of passengers on Lines in great Britain is 139,000,000 and the proportion of killed and injured is

	Killed	Injured
In India	1 28	1 92.
In England	0 15.	3 19

Now, if the increase of mileage in England since 1843, is equal to the increase of passengers, we should have to multiply the miles run rather more than five times which would give 1,650,000,000 miles run, against 1,123,612,500 in India. Such calculation is very suggestive during the early stages of our Railway System.

Our space warns us, that though the subject of 'Our Railways' is one of momentous consequence, we must draw our remarks to a close, but before doing so would echo the praise, most justly given from home through Mr Danvers' report to all those who have labored in this country. Lord Canning has done justice to the East Indian Railway Engineers, in his letter to Sir Charles Wood, found reprinted in the Report under notice. That mistakes have been made, there is no question, but how could many of them have been avoided? We have stations built in the North West Provinces, that would make fit palaces for the Governor General, and who are they for? For the 1,500,000 passengers whose pride is to be half naked, but who are favored with these luxuries, we presume, to induce them to improve a little upon their domestic architecture. No one is to blame, it is

the system. A favorite assistant of the late lamented Mr. Brunel finds himself called upon to design a station for some important town the emporium of a large and recently acquired province, he is supposed to be checked (or whatever other term best explains the position of a Government consulting Engineer) by an Officer of the Bengal Engineers, who is acknowledged to be one of the best judges of architecture in the Corps; and it would be a disgrace to them both, considering they had besides the assistance of an architect of repute, if they did not rear a building that is the wonder and admiration of thousands of the staring half naked natives. Mr Berkely of the Great Indian Peninsula, whose early efforts to popularize the Railway in the columns of the "*Bombay Quarterly*," must be fresh in the minds of many Indian readers, receives also deserved praise. An elaborate paper by this gentleman is largely quoted in the Appendix of Mr Dalrymple's Report in which his name and ill health, are identified with the ascents of the Bhore and Thulghaut inclines. The Agent and Manager of the Madras Railway also contributes a paper upon the supply of Engine Drivers and other skilled officials who are very scarce and whose duties it is by no means easy to teach. But yet all the difficulties that have accompanied the introduction of Railways in India, will, we doubt not, be overcome and the country benefitted by the results. Large, expensive stations have been built, which perhaps are unnecessary, but let us hope as a recompence, some stations will have to be enlarged to accommodate unexpected traffic. Bridges have fallen down, which were built by Railway Engineers, as bridges have fallen down built by others, but they are built up again, and in the end, we hope, all will be right. The system of guaranteed interest and the control consequent upon it, has been unpopular with both parties to the contract, and it may be a happy circumstance, that it is virtually at an end. Judging from what we now see put forth by the Home Government, the loaves and fishes, have been plentiful to the Railway Employés in England, while constant complaints are made of the want of generosity to the members of the scientific staff in this country. It was supposed that the Railway service in India was a lucrative one, we are now certain, had the same men come out to India to make Railways for the Government, their positions would have been more popular and still more lucrative. We know men who have served Companies for seven years, without a day's absence from their most arduous duties, and yet have received notice of dismissal with less compliment or thanks from the Company they have served.

than would be given to a common but faithful underling. This would never have been the case had it been a Government service.

The report we have had under consideration is the production of Mr. Juland Danvers, Secretary, Railway Department, but it may tend to explain matters, if we relate that there is in connection with the Railways an ex-officio Director and that this post was held from the commencing of the Railways, by Sir James Cosmo Melvill, the news of whose death has lately reached us. It was first held by him, when Secretary to the late Court of Directors and after his retirement from that office, it was still considered of importance to Government interests that he should retain his position on behalf of Government towards the companies. So that though to Mr. Danvers, is due our thanks, for his most interesting and able contribution to our meagre stock of information connected with our Railways we must not forget the able gentleman who long held the appointment, which commands and organizes the information. Mr. Danvers has succeeded Sir James Melvill and we can only hope, that we shall not on this account be deprived of our annual Report.

Let us observe in conclusion that while complaints are general, that if Government does not do some thing to assist the Railways by making roads, their full benefit can never be secured, we can say as truly that if the Indian Government do not make their own Railways, in extension of those at present under construction, they must expect their revenue materially to suffer. We extract the following timely warning from the report that has afforded us so much interest and will amply repay all, who obtain it for perusal.

The interest alike of the Government, of the Railway Companies, and of the public, would be sacrificed by the suspension of operations in the present condition of the lines. Not only would a large outlay remain unprofitable, but positive loss would be incurred by the damage to, and even destruction of, unfinished works, if left to the mercy of the elements in a tropical climate. Never was there a time more pregnant than the present with proofs of the necessity for a sure and permanent system of internal communication in India. Whether we look to the lamentable accounts of the famine, now desolating the North-West Provinces, or to the anxiety with which passing events in America are being watched by our manufacturers, and to the temporary and necessarily imperfect measures which are being taken by the Local Governments to aid the transport of Indian Cotton to this country, or whether adverting to the large European force now destined to garrison the country, we consider the

'safety, ease and economy which would be secured by the conveyance of troops by Railway, the early completion of the main lines which have been sanctioned appears to be a matter of paramount importance, and to admit of no delay.'
